Selling the Alpine Frontier:
The Development of Winter Resorts, Sports, and Tourism in Europe and America, 1865-1941

by

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Professor Kerwin Lee Klein, Chair
Professor Margaret Anderson
Professor Carolyn Merchant

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Abstract

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This dissertation analyzes the reasons why Europeans and Americans transformed their winter mountains from dismissed rural landscapes into sunny refuges for elite leisure, recreation, and health before World War II. By focusing on four resorts—Davos, Switzerland; Kitzbühel, Austria; Lake Placid, New York; and Sun Valley, Idaho—this study outlines the genealogy of winter resorts and emphasizes that they were a transnational creation that emerged from the flow of information and people across national borders. Key to this transformation were German tuberculosis treatments, British romantic thought, British sporting traditions, American youth culture, American consumerism, and the economic crises caused by World War I and the Great Depression.

This study has three larger goals. First, it aims to make a contribution to environmental history, which has already documented how a desire for natural resources and an appreciation for natural scenery dictated changes in the environment. My study adds to this literature by illustrating how concerns about health shaped the perception and economic evaluation of the natural world. The study's second objective is to illustrate the role that climate played in affecting cultural and economic developments. Most environmental historians have concentrated only on the fecund months of the calendar when telling their stories. My dissertation, though, examines how people coped with living amidst snow and extreme cold. The third aim of this study is to show that the history of tourism can best be understood in an international context. Historians have produced numerous regional and national histories of tourism, but too few have considered the impact of international travelers on economic and cultural life of local communities.

Acknowledgements

I can date the idea for this dissertation to fall 2000 when I happened to shelve Annie Gilbert Coleman's University of Colorado dissertation "Culture, Landscape and the Making of the Colorado Ski Industry" (since published by the University of Kansas Press as *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies*) while working as an archival assistant in the University of Utah's Special Collections. As a young historian who had just earned his B.A., I had little idea that tourism, let alone skiing, could fall within the purview of history.

Despite my interest in skiing, this study never would have gone anywhere without the support of Kerwin Klein. Kerwin signed on to the topic early when I first conceived of the project as a comparison between French and American resorts. Equally important were Margaret Anderson and Carolyn Merchant. Peggy supported me as I made my first forays into German history. More importantly, she gave me confidence that I could write convincingly about European history. She also set an impressive example as a mentor. Peggy always gave her full attention and did not let a detail slip by without comment. Although we met infrequently, meetings with Peggy were often the most rewarding. Carolyn, too, provided me with great inspiration and confidence in my work. Carolyn's sincere interest in my ideas helped me make a key transition from being a University of Utah undergraduate to becoming a University of California, Berkeley, graduate student.

Numerous archivists were essential in helping me locate sources. None was more helpful than Timothy Nelson in Davos. Timothy opened the library after hours and burned CDs of information to help me save time during my short research visits. In St. Moritz, Corina Huber did the same and even offered me a room toward the end of my trip when money was tight.

Historians of skiing were also important. John Allen involved me in conferences and provided me with essential introductions throughout Europe. When I could barely speak a word of German, John's recommendations helped me make the most of my visits.

My friends and family have been vital in surviving this process. No one has shouldered more than my good friend Teddy Varno. Whether we were at Port Costa, Trad'r Sams, or Simple Pleasures, Teddy always listened patiently and never failed to challenge my ideas. Candace Chen was a great help for breaking up writing days with long lunches. Equally as important was Chris Shaw. During my most formidable moment of frustration, I'll never forget how Chris urged me on by reminding me that graduate school is not just a way of hiding out from the real world but a daring enterprise in which a person risks a lot.

I thank Jo Merrill for her patience and love throughout this process. She saved me in more ways than one during the years of writing and research. The love and support of my parents Renee and Scott also buoyed me during what seemed like an interminable winter. I dedicate this dissertation to them with love and gratitude.

Table of Contents

Introduction

In February 2011, Snowbird Ski & Summer Resort announced plans to build a mountain coaster on the slopes of Mount Superior in Utah. The proposed coaster would start near an old mine shaft and meander down the lower reaches of the peak until flying over the canyon highway and eventually stopping in the resort's village. The proposal angered canyon advocates who argued that a roller coaster would turn majestic Mt. Superior into a version of Disneyland's Matterhorn bobsled ride. Carl Fisher, executive director of Save our Canyons, noted he was "disgusted with the idea of amusement parks dumbing down the scenic beauty of our canyons."[1] Snowbird Resort countered by arguing that such an amusement ride would make the ski resort a more viable year-round attraction. What was curious about Snowbird's defense was that it failed to press the protestors about what was acceptable alpine recreation. After all, Snowbird was essentially already in the amusement park business. Since its opening in 1971, Snowbird had erected an aerial tram and ten chairlifts on the side of the canyon opposite Mount Superior. In 2011, these lifts had a total uphill capacity of 17,400 people per hour and provided access to eighty-four ski trials.[2] To ride the chairlifts and ski the trails, visitors bought tickets that were scanned by employees before boarding the lifts. Although the natural surroundings were certainly spectacular, the actual logistics of the business were eerily similar to an amusement park.

In this light, a roller coaster hardly seemed out of line with Snowbird's vision for alpine amusement. Whether it was investing in skiing or roller coasters, Snowbird had built lifts, removed trees, and graded hillsides so that people could move quickly down and over the mountain's slopes. The difference was that sliding down hillsides on skis and snowboards had a different meaning than riding a roller coaster car down a metal track. Winter alpine sports involved physical exertion in which people strained themselves against nature's obstacles. Skiing was also associated with wealth and privilege. The lift tickets, equipment, transportation, and leisure time required to enjoy skiing and snowboarding necessitated considerable financial resources. Riding a mountain coaster, however, involved neither healthy recreation nor large investments of time or money. Plus, purchasing a ticket for an amusement ride was much cheaper, which meant that the mountains would no longer exclude certain social and economic groups. The battle over the mountain coaster, then, was not only about aesthetics; it was also about appropriate alpine recreation. In alpine settings, people were supposed to "re-create" their bodies among the stunning scenery. They were supposed to sweat and struggle as they celebrated modern society's domination of nature. In this light the ski resort served as more than just a business that sold the experience of skiing and snowboarding. It was, instead, an institution intended to preserve the health and power of the middle and upper classes. The objective of this study is to both examine how and why the ski resort developed, and to explain why it spread internationally to the United States.

Despite its current connotations, skiing has not always been associated with the upper classes. The ski, according to recent discoveries, has ancient origins among hunter-gatherer

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[1] Jeremiah Stettler, "Protestors Target Snowbird Coaster Proposal," *Salt Lake Tribune* March 14, 2011, http://www.sltrib.com/csp/cms/sites/sltrib/pages/printerfriendly.csp?id=51432051.
[2] For information about mountain statistics, see http://www.snowbird.com/about/mountainstats.html

societies in ancient China. Cliff painting in China's Altai Mountains depict humans skiing as early as 8000 BCE.[3] The earliest written reports of skiing also originate in China. During the third century BCE, in fact, officials in the Western Han Dynasty described how people in the Altai Mountains "sped like goats in the valleys and on the flatlands wearing the 'horns of goats'—a kind of knee high fur boot under which is bound a wooden board with a hoof-shaped front tip."[4] Although subsequent references to skiing in Asia are few, the current evidence nonetheless suggests that skiing likely spread northwest from central Asia.

The recent discoveries in China unseated Scandinavia as the birthplace of the ski, but they did not diminish the long history of skiing in Europe. Ski discoveries in northern Russia have uncovered ski fragments dating from between 6300 and 5300 BCE. Some of the skis indicate considerable craftsmanship. One, in particular, features a carved moose head that looks like a hook intended to prevent the ski from sliding backward, as it is carved on the ski's front underside.[5] Further to the west, Scandinavian bogs indicate the presence of skiers since at least 4700 BCE.[6] Written evidence from medieval and Renaissance Europe also illustrates how the ski eventually evolved into a tool for winter warfare. In 1200, Saxo Grammaticus described the Finns as quickly attacking and retreating atop wooden boards.[7] Sources about skiing are curiously silent, though, from the thirteenth thru the eighteenth centuries. When references resurface, they primarily concern the military use of skis. A document dating from 1735 records Norwegian Lieutenant Jens Henrik Emahusen's comments about ski troop regulations. Other sources from this period document the participation of Norwegian soldiers in cross-country and ski jumping competitions as well as a version of the biathalon in which skiers shot at targets as they slid downhill. Such references to Norway's ski troops begin to wane following the disbanding of the group in 1826.[8]

The dissolution of Norway's ski corps did not spell the end of interest in skiing in Norway. Skiing found devotees among burgeoning Norwegian nationalists and romantics. Confronted with the difficulty of overcoming numerous dialects and languages, Norwegian nationalists rallied around the *bønder*, the peasant farmers, whose folk customs and beliefs seemed to hold the secrets to a Norwegian nation-state. Folklorists like Jørgen Moe and Peter Christen Asbjørnsen collected tales that included brief references to how Norwegians used skis for hunting and transportation.[9] Norwegian nationalists also celebrated the ski's military connotations. In 1862, Lieutenant-Colonel Oscar Wergeland resurrected the old military ski races by holding a competition among his troops in Kristiansand. The local paper took note and suggested that the skiing should resume its place as a national sport and advised that German

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[3] Dan Oko, "Anthropology for Rippers," *Skiing*, http://www.skinet.com/skiing/resorts/canada/british-columbia/2006/08/anthropology-for-rippers-the-first-skiers (accessed March 14, 2011)

[4] Liu Quilu and Liu Yueye, "Sports on Ice and Snow in Ancient China," in *Winter Games, Warm Traditions*, ed. Matti Goksøyr et al. (Oslo: Norwegian Society of Sport History, 1994), 71, quoted in E. John B. Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing: From Antiquity to World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2007), 23.

[5] Ibid., 10.

[6] Ibid., 9.

[7] Ibid., 25.

[8] Ibid., 31-32.

[9] Ibid., 51-53.

gymnastics were no longer the appropriate exercise for Norwegians.[10] In 1865, Wergeland published *Skiing, Its History and Use in War* (*Skiløbningen, dens historie og kriegsanvendelse*) (1865), a book that echoed the ideas of early German nationalist Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who had advocated outdoor exercise as a means for fashioning a strong nation in response to the growing power of Napoleonic France. In Norway, though, skiing, not gymnastics, would hold the key to a vigorous *volk*.[11]

The Norwegian interest in skiing culminated with Fridtjof Nansen's 1888 crossing of Greenland, an event that not only spurred Norwegian nationalism but also stirred international interest in skiing. At the time, Greenland was under the dominion of Denmark, which had controlled the island since 1814. The island of ice, however, had considerable connections to Norway. In the 900s, Eirik the Red, the father of North American explorer Leif Erikson, had established a Norwegian colony on the island that lasted through the Middle Ages. By the eighteenth century, Norwegian missionaries and merchants were still prominent in the area, particularly at the outpost of Godthaab. Nansen may have been aware of the island's history; but he did not couch his adventure in nationalistic terms. He was interested in a sporting challenge. As a result, the Storting, the Norwegian parliament, refused to fund the expedition.[12]

Despite the dearth of official support, Nansen's successful and rather brief crossing of Greenland from August 15 to September 28, 1888, received wide acclaim in Europe. During the height of new imperialism and inchoate nationalism, Nansen's journey appeared as both a nationalist and imperialist venture. Nansen had used Norwegian skis to cross Greenland and thus appeared to symbolically claim the island for Norwegians, who were still nominally under the rule of Sweden. He gave the emerging nation of Norway something to rally around.[13] At the same time, Nansen's exploits looked like the northern hemisphere's equivalent to the carving up of Africa. Just as the great powers like Germany and England sought to secure pieces of Africa, they also competed to map and capture knowledge about the polar regions.[14] What American, British, and German groups failed to do, Nansen accomplished—and he did it on skis. Nansen became an instant celebrity and visited London within weeks of his return.[15] By 1890 Nansen had written a book about his adventure that was almost immediately translated into English and

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[10] Roland Huntford, *Two Planks and a Passion: The Dramatic History of Skiing* (New York: Continuum, 2008), 76-77.

[11] Allen, *Culture and Sport of Skiing*, 40-1. For a brief introduction to Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, see Roland Naul, "History of Sport and Physical Education in Germany, 1800-1945," in *Sport and Physical Education in Germany*, ed. Roland Naul and Ken Hardman, 15-16, (London: Routledge, 2002).

[12] Allen, *Culture and Sport of Skiing*, 58-59.

[13] For this argument, see Ibid., 58.

[14] For the history of early German and American polar exploration, see David Thomas Murphy, *German Exploration of the Polar World: A History, 1870-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002) and Michael F. Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[15] Roland Huntford, *Nansen* (London: Abacus, 2001), 159-160.

German.[16] The book contained an entire chapter on the ski and celebrated its use for both escaping city life and conditioning a person's body.[17]

Nansen's celebration of the ski appealed to Europeans who were becoming ever more fascinated with the utility of sports for not only fostering bravery and aggression but also promoting and preserving class distinctions. At the time, as Eugen Weber has argued, the French middle and upper classes were beginning to embrace sports as a form of conspicuous consumption. In Germany, English businessmen and tourists introduced Germans to sports by not only establishing clubs but by also marketing equipment and founding sports periodicals.[18] Sports not only connoted leisure, they also served as building blocks to a strong, powerful country. In France, sports were equated with military readiness, something France desperately needed in light of the debacle of the Franco-Prussian War. For example, the Club Alpin Francais, founded in 1874, aimed to use mountaineering to train men for the challenges of military service. By the 1880s, physical training became compulsory at French boy's schools in order to ready them for military training.[19] The popularity of outdoor sports benefited from a German tradition of equating athletics with nationalism. Therefore, soccer appealed to German *Turners*, men who practiced simple aerobic excercises on large open-air fields.[20] Skiing, therefore, offered health-concious Germans a way to engage in outdoor activity even in the winter.

Skiing also inserted itself into the health resort culture that was flourishing in Europe by the turn of the century. The concern for human health had escalated as cities became dens of disease and industrial pollution. The desire to find healthy landscapes eventually led German and British elites into the mountains where they breathed in salubrious air reputed to halt the deleterious effects of diseases like tuberculosis.[21] The prospect of attracting the capital of wealthy British tourists caused numerous alpine towns throughout the Alps to invent themselves as health resorts. Boredom and a tradition of sports led the British to incorporate outdoor sports into the activities at these health resorts.

While elites enjoyed sports at distant resorts, the middle class also sought out healthy landscapes, which usually meant going to parks or areas on the outskirts of the city. In central Europe, the ski, like the bike, allowed the middle class to flee the city and strengthen their bodies. Just as medical science began to challenge the idea that alpine air could cure tuberculosis, the health-minded middle class arrived to bolster the idea that non-urban air was still valuable. Rather than pursuing mere leisure in the outdoors, the middle class enjoyed the outdoors in conjunction with physical exercise. The search for landscapes of winter sport eventually led them to the mountains where they found challenging terrain and social exclusivity.

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[16] E. John B. Allen, "The British and the Modernisation of Skiing," *History Today* 53, no. 4. (April 2003), 48.

[17] Fridtjof Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, trans. Hubert Majendie Gepp (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1892), chapter 3.

[18] Christiane Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und Deutsche Bürger: Eine Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 1800-1939* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999), 153-57.

[19] Eugen Weber, "Gymnastics and Sport in *fin de siècle* France," *American Historical Review* 76 no. 1 (1971), 71-72.

[20] Ibid., 178-79.

[21] For a good introduction to the emergence of alpine health resorts, see Paul P. Bernard, *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland* (Boulder, [Colorado]: East European Quarterly; New York: distributed by Columbia University Press, 1978)

In the health resorts, skiing became an activity of conspicuous consumption and a marker of class.

By the turn of the century, winter mountains had become conflated with the preservation of not only a person's health, but also his class and power. People escaped to the mountains where they could regain their strength, reinforce social bonds, and then return to the metropole to resume their place as productive, powerful members of society. As nations tried to rebuild themselves in the wake of the destruction of World War I, this tacit understanding about the value of winter mountains percolated from local to national policy in Europe and America. The result was the proliferation of towns whose industry became recreational tourism to strengthen the middle and upper classes. The proliferation of ski resorts throughout Europe and North America during the 1930s largely resulted from the investment of various nations in the health of their subjects. Ski resort entrepreneurs did more than offer amusement and opportunities for social interaction by stringing up chair lifts and building hotels in the mountains; they sold access to a fountain of youth and vitality.

Despite the impressive economic, cultural, environmental impact that skiing and ski resorts have had on alpine settings throughout the world, ski resorts and winter recreation have attracted remarkably little literature. For the most part, scholars have discussed mountains as objects of reflection and reverence for summer tourists. The starting point for this scholarship is Marjorie Hope Nicolson's *Mountain Gloom, Mountain Glory*, a book that explored how the perception of European alpine environments influenced the English concept of the sublime.[22] Eric Wilson has recently elaborated on Nicolson's work by addressing the scientific and literary allure of alpine glaciers among this same group of thinkers.[23] American historians have produced similar works that have addressed how New York's Catskill Mountains and New Hampshire's White Mountains served as a reference point for America's own appreciation for the sublime.[24] Whereas the Alps provided artistic and inspiration for Percy Shelley, Jacques Rousseau, and Geothe, the Catskills and White Mountains provided the material for the flourishing of American landscape painting, particularly the Hudson River School.[25]

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22 Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1963).

23 Eric G. Wilson, *The Spiritual History of Ice: Romanticism, Science, and the Imagination* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003)

24 For information on early tourism in White Mountains, see Christopher Johnson, *The Grand and Magnificent: The Wilderness Heritage of the White Mountains* (Durham, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2006), chapters 3-8; Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1995), 41-74; John F. Sears makes the argument that scenery was not the primary interest of tourists, but they rather desired a storied landscape where they could envision the contest between man and nature. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 72-86.

25 Artist Thomas Cole, in fact, traveled to the White Mountains because he sought fame and his patron, Daniel Wadsworth, suggested that mountain scenery was particularly popular. Brown, *Inventing New England*, 46. For full treatment of the Hudson River School, see Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Historians have also chronicled how mountains inspired environmental protection. Alpine clubs throughout Europe and the United States appealed to urban dwellers who sought a respite from crowding and coal smoke of the cities.[26] In Europe these groups remained fixated on mountaineering accomplishments, but in the United States, outing groups involved themselves in the early conservation movement. As Karl Jacoby has shown, these efforts began at a regional level in the Adirondack Mountains and very quickly became national concerns.[27] As Americans moved West, they discovered new romantic vistas in California's Sierra Nevada mountains, a range which Romantics like John Muir, a founder of the Sierra Club, described as "the most divinely beautiful of all the mountain-chains."[28] The reverence for alpine scenery inspired groups like the Sierra Club to involve itself in providing access to, and eventually protection of, alpine environments.[29] Although the Sierra Club dabbled in winter trips to the mountains, the appreciation of scenery was usually a summer occupation. The earliest and most epic battles over the preservation of alpine scenery rallied people by invoking images of summer landscape. The dispute between the city of San Francisco and the Sierra Club over whether to dam Yosemite National Park's Hetch Hetchy Valley is illustrative of this point.[30] In arguing against the flooding of the valley, John Muir described Hetch Hetchy as it looked in summer, noting that "the sublime rocks of [Hetch Hetchy's] rock walls seem to glow with life, whether leaning back in repose or standing erect in thoughtful attitudes, giving welcome to storms and calms alike, their brows in the sky, their feet in the groves and gay flowery meadows, while birds, bees, and butterflies help the river and waterfalls to stir all the air into music."[31] This stunning scene relied on the dissolution of winter to flourish. The water that filled the spectacular waterfall was the result of melting snow at higher elevations. Although the quote above comes from a book in which Muir dedicated three chapters to winter storms and landscapes, these winter landscapes never featured in his pleas to save the valley.[32] Until recently, protection of certain seasons has not been a concern of environmental groups. Only with the advent of global warming have winter alpine environments become part of political discussions. On television, former professional skier

[26] For a histories of the German and Austrian Alpine Association, see Tait Keller, "Eternal Mountains—Eternal Germany: The Alpine Association and the Ideology of Alpinism," (Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2006) and Dagmar Günther, *Alpine Quergänge: Kulturgeschichte des bürgerlichen Alpinismus, 1870-1930* (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 1998). The most comprehensive book on an American outing club is Michael Cohen's *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892-1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988). Curiously the Appalachian Mountain Club, the oldest of America's outing clubs, has not yet received in-depth treatment. Christopher Johnson provides some background in *The Grand and Magnificent*, 152-54.
[27] Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[28] John Muir, *The Mountains of California* (1894; New York: The Century Company, 1913), 5.
[29] For a history of the Sierra Club, see Michael Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892-1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988).
[30] For a history of the Hetch Hetchy controversy and its impact on nascent environmentalism, see Robert W. Righter, *The Battle Over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[31] John Muir, *The Yosemite* (New York: The Century Co., 1912), 255.
[32] The chapters are entitled "Winter Storms and Spring Floods," "Snow Storms," and "Snow Banners." Muir, *Yosemite*, chapters 2-4.

Picabo Street appears in advertisements reminding skiers and snowboarders to “Keep Winter Cool.”[33] Certain ski resorts also offer skiers the opportunity to donate to the Ski Green program to help support renewable energy.[34]

Alpine beauty has not been the only thing that motivated interest and protection of mountain settings. Interest in the preservation of mountains has been much more personal. As Susan Schrepfer has illustrated, middle-class American men envisioned mountains as rugged places where they could discover their own strength. Women, on the other hand, viewed mountains as new domestic spaces in which flora and fauna became the children that required nurturing and protection. Tait Keller has sketched similar developments in Germany and Austria where the mountains served as locations for reviving a person’s spirit and strength. During the interwar period, the German and Austrian Alpine Association envisioned the mountains as locations for restoring national strength and vigor.[35]

The present study builds on the work of these scholars as it seeks to unravel how Europeans and Americans attached meanings to winter alpine landscapes. Unlike previous works, though, this study provides a larger international context that takes into account how Britons, Norwegians, Austrians, Germans, and Americans all influenced and altered the meanings of the mountains. It argues that there was a trans-Atlantic concern about national vitality that animated interest in sports and in turn altered the way Europeans and Americans viewed their landscapes. Alpine villages that had few resources to exploit realized they could sell access to health and strength. What developed as a local business inevitably transformed into an industry exploited by corporations.

With its interest in the cultural meaning of skiing and alpine resorts, my study also engages with the work of Annie Coleman who examined skiing in Colorado as a way to understand how nature and culture intersected in the mountains. In *Ski Style*, Coleman illustrated how Americans first adopted the Scandinavian sport of skiing before embracing elite European resort culture and subsequently transforming mountain valleys throughout Colorado into second-home suburbs. In the process, Coleman explained how resorts learned to sell both the experience of skiing and the glamour and style associated with it.[36] Although persuasive, Coleman’s focus on Colorado both underplayed the importance of the East Coast in the development of skiing and failed to present a clear context for the development of skiing in Europe in the first place.

Rather than treating skiing as simply an import of Europe, my study analyzes the context in which skiing gained prominence in Europe. As such, it elaborates on the work of E. John B. Allen and others who have traced the development of skiing from a Norwegian folk sport to an international recreation of the world’s gliterati.[37] The present study, though, takes more than the history of skiing as its subject. Instead, it details the development of winter alpine resorts before

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[33] www.keepwintercool.org, accessed September 2, 2009.
[34] www.alta.com/pages/enviro.php, accessed September 1, 2009.
[35] Keller, “Eternal Mountains—Eternal Germany,” 36-45.
[36] Annie Gilbert Coleman, *Ski Style: Sport and Culture in the Rockies* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004).
[37] The best works on the history of skiing are E. John B. Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing: One Hundred Years of an American Sport, 1840-1940* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing.* For similar, though less rigorous approaches, see Huntford, *Two Planks and a Passion,* and John Fry, *The Story of Modern Skiing* (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006).

the advent of skiing, when tuberculosis patients primarily flocked to the mountains in the winter to breathe the healthy air. By illustrating this history, my study highlights the pervasive themes that allowed for the transmission of skiing and resort culture across so many borders. Concerns about health and national vitality formed the foundation of all alpine recreation.

By addressing the development of winter recreation, this study also allies with literature about the role elites played in shaping an appreciation for the environment. Recent histories have shown how the middle-class conservation movement valued nature as a place devoid of human presence. In many cases, both Native Americans and rural white inhabitants were removed from forests to establish these places as national and state parks.[38] My dissertation illustrates that preservation of natural resources and scenery were not all that motivated elite interest in the environment. Elite ideas and beliefs about health and recreation also shaped the natural environment. For example, the belief that mountain air could be a tonic for disease bestowed certain environments with a cachet akin to religious pilgrimage sites. Even as science challenged popular beliefs, the alpine outdoors retained associations with health, particularly the relief of mental stress caused by urban life. Rather than being excluded from these environments, rural people were incorporated into a tourist industry shaped by urban elites. In the process, alpine towns were transformed to reflect the interests and desires of elite health conscious guests. In this way, these resorts presaged the flourishing of entertainment tourism in places like Las Vegas as they learned to adapt and modify to the whims of consumers.

To best illustrate the way mountain towns adapted to and reinvented themselves for the recreational tourist, this dissertation presents four chapters, each of which illustrates a major transformation in winter alpine recreation. The first half of the dissertation focuses on developments in Europe where British tourists pioneered the alpine sports resort. Chapter One examines the history of Davos, Switzerland, the first alpine village to promote winter tourism. Davos originally lured tuberculosis patients with promises that its environment would cure their seemingly incurable ailment. Among these health tourists were aristocratic Britons who, already accustomed to sporting competitions, introduced alpine recreation by both embracing local sports like tobogganing and encouraging the growth of ice skating and, eventually, skiing. Chapter Two illustrates the growing appreciation of winter sports among German speakers. It also illustrates how World War I altered mountain economies, particularly those in the Austrian Tyrol. The dearth of tourists following World War I make it very difficult for alpine communities to maintain expensive toboggan tracks and skating rinks. As a result, alpine towns like Kitzbühel and St. Anton am Arlberg rallied around the ski instructor, who required no special facilities other than the already available mountains to entertain the small numbers of tourists. The release of Arnold Fanck's various *Berg* films popularized ski instructors like Hannes Schneider, and lured defeated Germans into the mountains with images of men and women whose strength and vitality thrived in the mountains. Skiing, like *Turnen* (gymnastics) promoted by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn one hundred years earlier, promised to rejuvenate the Germany and Austria by drawing people into the outdoors and putting them in touch with the *Volk*.

The second half of this study addresses developments in the United States, where winter alpine tourism followed a somewhat similar trajectory as that in Europe. Chapter three illustrates

[38] For more on how American bureaucrats dispossessed certain groups of their rights to certain landscapes see Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers,* and Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of National Parks* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

developments in Lake Placid, New York, where the exclusive Lake Placid Club developed the first winter alpine resort by building on the popular belief that the Adirondack environment and atmosphere, like that of the Alps, were like a tonic that would cure the modern worker of the mental and physical diseases he suffered in the cities. Essentially a country club, the Lake Placid Club had a Social Darwinist perspective and promoted winter sports as a means to ensure the preservation of vitality and strength of the upper middle class. The link between class and national health became all too clear as the club successfully worked to secure the 1932 Winter Olympics during which they hoped to display American strength to the world. Chapter Four describes the development of Sun Valley, a resort which combined developments in Europe and the United States to create the first destination ski resort in the United States. Sun Valley, under the direction of the Union Pacific Railroad, viewed skiing in ways similar to that of the bourgeois villagers in the Austrian Tyrol—skiing was a commodity. The Forest Service, however, viewed recreation much as the Lake Placid Club did—it was something that could strengthen the nation. Together Sun Valley and the Forest Service created the paradigm for winter recreation development in which the Forest Service partnered with private business to develop resorts that would ensure the health of the nation. It would be this model that would thrive after World War II, thus creating the ski landscape and resort culture prevalent today.

By the 1930s, skiing in both the United States and Europe had become closely associated with consumerism. Popular American magazines like *Life* emphasized that resorts in Europe and America hardly differed. For example, an eight-page photographic in *Life* in 1936 featured fifteen pictures of winter alpine leisure. Rather than emphasizing regional differences among the various mountains, the article portrayed the French, German, Italian, and Swiss Alps as well as the White Mountains of New Hampshire as all part of some continuous landscape. The pictures featured beautiful women in bathing suits and young male skiers stripped to the waist. Men and women reclined outdoors in short-sleeve shirts while waiters on skates served them. They exulted in showing off their healthy bodies in the clean, mountain air. Captions over the pictures claimed that "Skiing can be hot, thrilling, luxurious, [and] wet" as well as "comfortable," "risky and lonely." Although somewhat simple, the ideas put forth in the photographs were not necessarily misleading. After all, skiing was a fairly simply activity that looked little different whether performed in Europe, America, or anywhere else.

Although there was some truth to *Life*'s photos, they nevertheless obscured important differenes among ski resorts in the United States and Europe. In Europe, ski development had remained local. The community was in charge of land development and local proprietors oversaw the administration of services. Ski instructors joined forces to found community ski schools and citizens voted to support the construction of lifts. In the U.S., however, corporations and businesses drove development. The Lake Placid Club promoted sports for the betterment of its members not local villagers from the Adirondacks. In developing Sun Valley, the Union Pacific not only imported ski instructors from Europe, but it also constructed all the accommodations and lifts without any significant input from local community members. Despite the different developmental approaches, American and European resorts nevertheless linked snowy hillsides with notions of health, nationalism, and consumerism.

Chapter One

A Winter Playground for Sick and Sound: Tuberculosis Treatment, English Tourists, and the Emergence of the First Winter Sports Center at Davos, Switzerland.

Stretched out along an open-air hallway, wrapped in warm blankets, a group of tuberculosis patients sit, reclining in the brisk, winter air. Amidst the gaunt individuals, coughing and wheezing prevail as one sufferer, shoulders jerking forward, coughs up blood. From the surrounding forest, this lonely, quiet scene is interrupted by yelps of laughter and the shout of "Achtung!" as toboggans and bobsleds skid and slide down ice-covered courses. In the valley below, ice skaters glide over a sprawling ice rink while others play curling or bandy on a neighboring rink.[1] Before World War I, this was a typical scene in the small, Swiss alpine village of Davos, where thousands of tuberculosis patients and leisure tourists gathered each winter to breathe fresh air, absorb brilliant sunshine, and indulge in sports. This phase in Davos' history has been immortalized in literature and noted among historians of tourism and medicine who have mentioned Davos as both a popular British mountain resort and a center for tuberculosis treatment.[2] No scholar, though, has recognized how Davos' development as a tourist resort transformed the meaning of winter mountains from markers of avalanches, bitter cold, and death into symbols of health and recreation. Until this question is addressed, historians are left without a clear answer to why Europeans first framed the winter mountains as tourist landscapes, thus

[1] Bandy is a hockey-like game played with a ball and stick.

[2] For literature, there is no better account than Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain*, trans. H. T. Lowe-Porter (1924; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952). The early history of Davos as a health resort is documented in Susan Barton, *Healthy Living in the Alps: The Origins of Winter Tourism in Switzerland, 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), Ralf Schenk, *Geschichte des heilklimatischen Kurortes Davos im Spiegel seiner Tagespublizistik* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1991) and Francis B. Smith, *The Retreat of Tuberculosis: 1850-1950* (London: Croom Helm, 1988), 97-134. Jules Ferdmann, *Der Aufstieg von Davos* (Davos: Verlag Kurverein, 1947) is probably the best history of Davos as a health resort. Ferdmann was a historian who came to Davos to regain his health, eventually settling in Davos. His book draws from numerous archival sources as well as local newspapers and is still unparalleled in its scope. Yvonne Schmid, "'Davos-Platz: A New Alpine Resort for Sick and Sound': Der Einfluss der britischen Kurgäste auf die Fremdenverkehrsentwicklung in Davos während der Zeit von 1875-1914." (master's thesis, Zurich University, 1998) provides a fuller description of the creation of the English colony and its influence on Davos, an aspect that Ferdmann only briefly touches. For a sample of the passing references to Davos as a health and recreation resort, see Flurin Condrau, *Lungenheilanstalt und Patientenschicksal: Sozialgeschichte der Tuberkulose in Deutschland und England im späten 19. Und frühen 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), 30; Thomas Dormandy, *The White Death: A History of Tuberculosis* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 153-157, J.A.R. Pimlott, *The Englishman's Holiday: A Social History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1957), 206; Jim Ring, *How the English Made the Alps* (London: John Murray, 2000), 70-71; Bernard, *Rush to the Alps,* 112-120; and Laurent Tissot, *Naissance d'une industrie touristique: les Anglais et la Suisse au XIXe siècle* (Luasanne: Payot Lausanne, 2000), 92, 100.

helping to alter perceptions of mountains around the world. This chapter illustrates this development by showing how tuberculosis treatment regimens, local Swiss government, and British guests transformed Davos from a forgotten mountain village into a health and recreation resort designed for both convalescing tuberculars and sports-minded vacationers.

Perceptions of the Alps in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

To appreciate how the Alps became the site for the pursuit of health and recreation, one must begin in the eighteenth century when the Alps were considered a forbidding place. Since mountains did not feature in the Biblical account of creation in Genesis, they were vulnerable to all sorts of mysterious explanations about their formation. Some of the earliest theorizers postulated that the enormous earthen walls that stretched 700 miles from central Austria to southeastern France were the manifestation of God's curse upon the earth, which he had meted out when punishing Adam and Eve.[3] These theories were born out in facts that appeared in books like J.H. Zedler's *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon*, an encyclopedia that was published between 1732 and 1754 and described the Alps as terrible conglomerations of earth that thwarted travel and were home not only to predatory bears and wolves but also dragons and birds, which preyed on children like they were field mice.[4]

These frightening descriptions of the Alps began to fade in the eighteenth century as naturalists and travelers followed lowland rivers up into mountain valleys. Rather than encountering the diabolical dragons believed to dwell amidst the high alpine hell, these adventurous men described idyllic villages and beautiful scenery.[5] One of the first to tackle this task was Swiss naturalist Albrecht von Haller, who in 1729 published "Die Alpen," a poem that lauded not only the Alps' virtuous peasants but also their picturesque cliffs, forests, lakes, streams and waterfalls. To strengthen the empirical qualities of his poem, von Haller also included a handful of footnoted stanzas describing the varieties of plants he encountered during his three-week walking tour through the Swiss Alps in 1728.[6]

Von Haller's alpine poem was an exception among German-speaking poets, the majority of whom showed little interest in the Alps.[7] Travelers and their accounts were also relatively

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[3] Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory,* 82-83; Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 1.

[4] Holger Böning, "'Arme Teufel an Klippen und Felsen' oder 'Felsenburg der Freiheit'? Der deutsche Blick auf die Schweiz und die Alpen im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Alpen!: Zur europäischen Wahrnehmungsgeschichte seit der Renaissance*, ed. John Mathieu and Simona Boscani Leoni (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), 184.

[5] As late as 1723, Swiss scientist Johann Jacob Scheuchzer, a professor of physics and mathematics at Zurich University and fellow of the Royal Society of London, provided a chronicle of all the dragons thought to exist in the Alps. Andrew Beattie, *The Alps: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 113.

[6] Footnotes were not a common practice in eighteenth-century literary works, and their inclusion in "Die Alpen" indicates that von Haller likely did not want his descriptions interpreted as symbolic devices but rather viewed as serious scientific observations. Ann B. Shteir, "Albrecht von Haller's Botany and "Die Alpen," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 10, no. 2 (Winter 1976-77): 172, 177.

[7] Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 19.

scarce during the first half of the eighteenth century. In fact, from 1700 to 1749, only 65 travel accounts were published. [8]

The second half of the century, though, saw a marked change as von Haller's pastoral descriptions began to gain wider influence. Jean-Jacques Rousseau was perhaps the most influential person in furthering the idea that the mountains were a place of beauty and virtue. In his epistolary novel *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloise* (1761), Rousseau described a love affair between a daughter of an aristocrat and her middle-class tutor. Set amidst the alpine foothills, Rousseau's tale described the Alps with awe and wonderment rather than terror and fright.[9] The novel's success in Britain, France, and Germany was accompanied by an explosion of interest in alpine travel and travel accounts, of which there were 460 published between 1750 and 1799.[10] The large number of German accounts caused both the *Allgemeine Litteratur-Zeitung* and the *Neue Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*, the second largest German review magazine, to complain about the ceaseless stream of them.[11]

No longer looked upon as grotesque, earthen sutures, alpine landscapes became the muse for writers during the early nineteenth century.[12] With verse, William Wordsworth praised the Alps in works such as "Descriptive Sketches Taken During a Pedestrian Tour Among the Alps" and *Memorials of a Tour of the Continent* (1822).[13] Other writers such as George Gordon Lord Byron and Percy Bysshe Shelley described the Alps romantically, the latter penning the poem "Mount Blanc" in which the following lines appeared: "Mont Blanc yet gleams on high; the power is there/The still and solemn power of many sights/And many sounds, and much of love and death."[14] Captivating poetry was not all that enthralled the British public. The events of the poets' public lives, which took place along the shores of Lake Geneva, were also closely followed by the public and added an additional allure to the Alps.[15]

The lyrical quality with which these men infused the Alps was embellished by the harrowing exploits of mountain climbers. In 1843, James David Forbes, the chair of natural philosophy at Edinburgh, published *Travels Through the Alps of Savoy and other Parts of the*

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[8] Jon Mathieu, "Alpenwahrnehmung: Probleme der historischen Periodisierung," in Mathieu, *Die Alpen!*, 67.

[9] Beattie, *The Alps*, 121-122.

[10] Jon Mathieu, "Alpenwahrnehmung," in *Die Alpen!*, 67. French editions sold well in England and were soon followed in April 1761 by English translations of the novel's first couple volumes, which sold out before the novel's remaining volumes appeared in translation in June 1761. The English translation noted that the volume was very popular in Germany, Holland, and Italy. In France the popularity was so great that the volume was rented out by the day and even by the hour. G. G. Barber, "Two English Editions of 'La Nouvelle Héloïse', 1761," *The Modern Language Review* 56, no. 2 (April 1961): 226-227. Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1984), 242. For insight into how French readers reacted to and read *Julie*, see Darnton, *Great Cat Massacre*, 241-248.

[11] Böning, "Der deutsche Blick," in *Die Alpen!*, 180.

[12] Ring, *How the English*, 13.

[13] Ring, *How the English*, 23-4.

[14] Percy Shelley, "Mont Blanc," in Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom*, 388.

[15] Ring, *How the English*, 22-4.

Pennine Chain, with Observations on the Phenomena of Glaciers.[16] The drama of mountain climbing, which Forbes cloaked within a scientific study, became actual theater in 1851. Staged at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly, Albert Richard Smith's dramatization of his ascent of France's Mount Blanc included the participation of a St. Bernard dog as well as multiple women dressed in Alpine costume.[17] Smith's performance was a smash hit and ran for nine years, attracting the attention of England's royalty, who had it performed within the walls of both Windsor Castle and Osborne House, Queen Victoria's home on the Isle of Wight.[18] Smith showed that the Alps could be the setting of pleasure and amusement, a theme echoed in John Ball's 1855 publication *Wanderings Among the High Alps*, which promoted the mountains as places of pleasure rather than just sites of scientific exploration.[19]

The growing enthusiasm among European elites for mountain adventures culminated on December 22, 1857, with the founding of the Alpine Club by William Mathews, son of a prosperous land agent from Worcestershire.[20] The club stated that its goals were to promote knowledge of the mountains through literature, science, and art. Its membership was composed largely of well-educated men who had attended public schools as well as Oxford and Cambridge. Though a serious-minded organization, the club chose as its first president John Ball, a man who was essentially an alpine booster who simply wanted people to get out and experience the mountains.[21] Within the next ten years, the Austrians, Italians, and Swiss had all founded their own mountain clubs. Shortly thereafter, in 1869 and 1874, respectively, the Germans and French followed suit.[22]

The proliferation of mountain clubs was matched by increasing numbers of alpine tourists in the 1860s. The Alps were no longer simply muses for artists or crucibles of bravery for the adventurer; they were places of leisure for the tourist. In July 1863, Thomas Cook, the famed travel company operator, organized his first tour of the Alps, arranging for sixty people to travel to Chamonix.[23] Only eight years later, Cook had tours operating in the Austrian Tyrol.[24] By 1868, even Queen Victoria, who traveled in disguise as the Countess of Kent, could be counted among English visitors to the Alps.[25]

Mountains and Health

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[16] Ibid., 28, 31.
[17] Beattie, *The Alps*, 208. For an indepth look at Smith, see Peter H. Hansen, "Albert Smith, the Alpine Club, and the Invention of Mountaineering in Mid-Victorian Britain," *The Journal of British Studies* 34, no. 3 (July 1995), 300-324.
[18] Ring, *How the English*, 48; Beattie, *The Alps*, 208.
[19] Ibid., 58.
[20] Ibid., 62-3.
[21] Beattie, *The Alps*, 180, 208.
[22] Keller, "Eternal Mountains–Eternal Germany," 1.
[23] Ring, *How the English*, 85. Piers Brendon, *Thomas Cook: 150 Years of Popular Tourism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1991) is a good source on Cook's tours, generally, though he provides surprisingly little treatment (81-82) on the excursions to the Alps.
[24] Ring, *How the English*, 109.
[25] Ring, *How the English*, 92. The Queen visited Lucerne and traveled up Mount Pilatus. Beattie, *The Alps,* 166.

The masses of visitors who poured into the Alps during the 1860s were largely British tourists who wanted to climb and see the mountains. They had little interest in the health tourism that had been a feature of the Alps since Roman times. The Murray guide for 1867, in fact, noted that "not one in a thousand" English visitor bathed in the Swiss mineral springs.[26]

The earliest alpine tourists, though, had come to bathe in the mineral waters and breathe the rarefied air; alpine aesthetics were secondary. As early as 1611, Jacobus Eckholt had proclaimed that the mineral waters of Fideris, Switzerland, thwarted tuberculosis.[27] By the mid-eighteenth century, doctors were also hailing the healthful qualities of St. Moritz's mineral baths as well as the milk diet promoted in Gais, an alpine village in the Swiss canton of Alpenzell.[28] In 1792, Bernhard Christoph Faust published a popular book in which he claimed that mountain air could help fortify one against the diseases of the city. Faust's book sold 200,000 copies in Germany alone. His claims were even reproduced four years later in Christoph Wilhelm Hufeland's book *Makrobiotik*, which enjoyed similar success.[29]

The claim that mountain air was somehow superior to that in the low-lying valleys meant that every mountain village was a potential health resort. The towns of Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen in central Switzerland benefited tremendously from these medical assertions. Since neither village was home to curative waters and could offer the visitor little more than glimpses of stunning scenery, which hardly warranted prolonged stays, the claim of healthy air was all they could depend on to attract more than day visitors. While Lauterbrunnen provided access to the Staubbach waterfall, Grindelwald presented views of the Jungfrau and other towering peaks. Although one could see these sights in a day, provided good weather, visitors, beginning in the latter half of the eighteenth century, began staying longer, claiming the local foodstuffs and long walks were good for their health. By the 1790s, Lauterbrunnen had its first inn, and guests were no longer dependent upon the hospitality of the local pastor or townspeople, who, at best, could offer visitors only a draughty hut with a sheet spread over a hay-strewn floor.[30] Far from the signs of human depravity, the mountains, dotted with towns like Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen, were by the dawn of the nineteenth century more akin to secular shrines, offering good health to the penitent.

Faith in the restorative powers of alpine atmospheres was just part of Europe's growing belief in the eighteenth century in the medicinal qualities of environments. In England at the time, the well-to-do traveled to the seaside to inhale the healthy salt air.[31] In his 1766 history of the seaside spa Tunbridge Wells, Thomas Benge Burr wrote that "air is undoubtedly such a necessary instrument of life, that without it we cannot subsist for more than a few moments; and it is very obvious to every reflective mind, that, where it is impregnated with undue mixtures, it must of course produce, or aggravate diseases."[32] The seaside resorts, though, were primarily

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[26] John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 12th ed. (London: John Murray, 1867), l.
[27] Jules Ferdmann, *Die Anfänge des Kurortes Davos: Bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts* (Davos: Verlag der Davoser Revue, 1938), 46.
[28] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 46.
[29] Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 88.
[30] Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 87-88.
[31] Smith, *Retreat of Tuberculosis*, 42.
[32] Thomas Benge Burr, *History of Tunbridge Wells* (1766) in Pimlott, *Englishman's Holiday*, 56.

popular for bathing.[33] Claims that air alone could thwart the proliferation of disease were less popular in England. As late as 1840, when the English doctor George Bodington founded a sanatorium advocating a regimen of fresh air and exercise for tuberculosis sufferers, he was severely rebuked.[34]

By the 1850s, though, Bodington's dismissed ideas began to gain ground as the medical community embraced the idea of using air to treat disease. In England, this about-face emerged from the research of barrister Edwin Chadwick, who in 1842 had alerted English authorities to the deleterious effects of unhealthy air on the working-class in his *Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain*.[35] Chadwick's report encouraged the Public Health Act of 1848, which created local boards of health and provided money to improve sanitation and sewage removal, improving air quality.[36]

Armed with these beliefs, English doctors began recommending fresh air as treatment for tuberculosis—though there was no clear agreement on which climate was best for patients. In a series of lectures in 1856, James E. Pollock, the Senior Assistant-Physician at the Hospital for Consumption and Diseases of the Chest, prescribed a "good diet, fresh air, [and] healthful and cheering occupations" as a means for treating the disease, noting that a study of 652 workers indicated that occupations in which the worker was sedentary and had little exposure to the outdoors often suffered the most from tuberculosis.[37] Though there was general consensus about the benefits of fresh air, it was unclear what constituted fresh air and where one could find it. Pollock noted that there was no known place on earth that was free of phthisis; it was even "prevalent in . . . [the] Canadian colonies with their sharp winters and pure air."[38] Nevertheless, the English traveled to places such as Rome because they believed that such malaria-rife areas were retardant to tuberculosis.[39] Pollock, himself, admitted that he had witnessed miraculous recoveries and abatements of symptoms from patients who had traveled to southern France and Italy.[40] One patient, in particular, had experienced a total recovery from tuberculosis symptoms following a visit to Lucerne, Switzerland, even though Pollock had directed him not to visit the Swiss city. The patient's convalescence was so unbelievable that Pollock found himself questioning whether the man had ever actually suffered from the disease.[41]

Whereas Pollack noted the beneficial effect of fresh air, other doctors theorized that cold air provided the most inhospitable environment for diseases like tuberculosis. In 1857, the chief

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[33] Pimlott, *Englishman's Holiday*, 57.
[34] Smith, *Retreat*, 97; Joan Lane, *A Social History of Medicine: Health, Healing and Disease in England, 1750-1950* (London: Routledge, 2001), 142.
[35] Anthony S. Kessel, *Air, the Environment and Public Health* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 37.
[36] Ibid., 38.
[37] Of the 652 cases, 145 were domestic workers, ninety-five were servants, and sixty-two were gardeners or worked outside. The remaining 393 people were needle workers, shop workers, tailors, shoemakers and tailors, all jobs that require a "minimum of muscular waste and renewal." James E. Pollock, "Lectures on the History and Constitutional Characters of Phthisis." *Lancet* 2, no. 5 (November 1856): 405, 411.
[38] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 410.
[39] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 405.
[40] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 403-407.
[41] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 403.

surgeon at Paris' Roule Hospital, M. Boudin, announced that phthisis was unknown in countries such as Iceland and that it was even less prevalent in the colder, northern reaches of Sweden. According to Boudin's research, English soldiers experienced the fewest deaths from TB in cold regions. Curiously, warm regions also saw fewer TB deaths while the U.K., itself, was where most soldiers died of the disease.[42]

The freshness of the air as well as it temperature were not all that fascinated physicians about the atmosphere's effect on disease. Some researchers theorized about how the density of air affected humans. During the eighteenth century, Georg Detharding, a Rostock University professor, published a book in which he warned ordinary people against breathing thin mountain air. According to Detharding, the low atmospheric pressure at high altitudes did not exert enough force on the body's blood vessels, thus causing them to rupture.[43] Not everyone was convinced by Detharding's theory. The Swiss Johann Jakob Scheuchzer found the professor's ideas untenable because Scheuchzer believed that God had created the earth, mountains included, with the intent of benefiting man. In his view, mountain air actually fortified a person, making him as hearty as an alpine peasant.[44]

In 1854, Hermann Brehmer added a new chapter to this discussion when he published his dissertation entitled, "The Laws Concerning the Beginning and Progress of Tuberculosis of the Lungs," which argued that high altitudes actually relieved the pressure on the small, weak hearts of tuberculars, allowing the body's metabolism to improve and fight the disease. According to Brehmer, tuberculosis patients in the early phases of the disease might actually have a chance of curing themselves if they took up residence at high altitudes.[45] Brehmer's ideas had grown from his own experiences in the Himalayas, where he claimed he was rid of tuberculosis. Seeking further support for his argument, Brehmer had queried explorer Alexander von Humboldt about the incidence of tuberculosis in alpine regions throughout the world. Humboldt emboldened Brehmer, informing the young doctor that tuberculosis was a stranger to mountainous areas.[46] Convinced of his findings, Brehmer put his theory into practice in 1854 when he opened a tuberculosis treatment facility in Görbersdorf, Prussia (Sokołowsko, Poland), a Silesian village situated 1,980 feet high in the Riesengebirge Mountains. Görbersdorf validated what had formerly been a popular belief that the mountains were good for one's health. Late eighteenth-century visitors to the Swiss town of Lauterbrunnen had been some of the first to affirm this fact. Brehmer added not only a scientific theory to explain popular beliefs but also a regimen for fighting the disease.

***The Development of Davos as a* Kurort**

The Swiss town of Davos stood to benefit considerably from Brehmer's assertions. At 5,118 feet, Davos' atmospheric pressure promised to be even less harmful than that at Görbersdorf. In fact, by the time Brehmer's facility opened, Davos, like many other Swiss towns, had gained a small degree of notoriety for its healthy climate. In 1844, Luzius Rüedi, Davos' town doctor, contacted Zurich physician Conrad Meyer-Ahrens about a curious phenomenon in Davos' Landwasser Valley. According to Rüedi, Davos' atmosphere appeared to heal external

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42 "Climates Free from Phthisis," *Lancet* 2, no. 3 (September 1857): 237.
43 Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 10.
44 Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 56-57; Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 11.
45 Dormandy, *White Death*, 150.
46 Dormandy, *White Death*, 150.

ulcers related to less-serious cases of tuberculosis and scrofula. Rüedi desired to study this issue further and queried Meyer-Ahrens about whether the Zurich doctor or anyone else might conduct an investigation.[47] It is unclear how Meyer-Ahrens responded to Rüedi's requests. What is known, though, is that in 1845 Meyer-Ahrens published a pair of articles on cretinism in Swiss medical journals, in which he noted Davos' healthy climate.[48] Fifteen years later, Meyer-Ahrens again highlighted the health qualities of Davos' atmosphere in his book *Heilquellen und Kurorte der Schweiz*.[49] The book proved to be a turning point for Alexander Spengler, a German doctor who since 1853 had worked in Davos. Rather than resigning his post as valley doctor in 1860 as he had planned, Spengler arranged with local authorities to allow him to take a leave of absence to study Europe's health resorts and spas.[50] In May 1862, not more than a few months after Spengler returned from his research trip, Meyer-Ahrens paid a visit to Davos, where hotel owners were already trying to attract guests by advertising the valley's mineral water and local milk. In fact, the hotel at which Meyer-Ahrens was a guest, the Hotel Strehla, advertised itself to tourists and "friends of nature" as a beautifully situated hotel where mineral water and fresh milk were in abundance.[51] Perhaps inspired by his visit, Meyer-Ahrens later in that same year praised the healthy atmosphere of Davos in the German medical journal *Deutsche Klinik*, noting that the town was free of any endemic diseases.[52] Although the Swiss doctor admitted that a person would encounter plenty of lung inflammation and almost an epidemic number of croup sufferers as well as rare cases of scarlet fever and smallpox, visitors would also find that scrofula was not only rare, but those infected with it were usually healed upon arriving in Davos without any aid of medications.[53] For light cases of tuberculosis, Meyer-Ahrens also recommended exposure to Davos' winter and summer climates.[54]

The claims that Davos' atmosphere was therapeutic for phthisics caught the attention of two of Hermann Brehmer's patients: Friedrich Unger and Hugo Richter. The two Germans had spent a few years each at Görbersdorf, where neither had regained his health. By 1865, Unger had learned of Meyer-Ahrens's contact with Spengler and decided to visit Davos, arriving with Richter in February.[55] Although the men had abandoned Brehmer's facilities, they had not forsaken his method, and they rigged a hay sleigh so that they could sit outside and breathe the fresh air.[56] As Meyer-Ahrens and Luzius Rüedi had claimed, Davos' atmosphere was invigorating, and both men regained their stamina.[57]

Unger and Richter were just two of an unspecified number of patients whom Spengler observed during 1865. The doctor who had formerly recommended a mild, southern climate for

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[47] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg*, 48. "Dr. Conrad Meyer-Ahrens," *Correspondenz-Blatt für schweizer Aertze*, no. 5 (March 1, 1873): 122. Meyer Ahrens lectured on Davos' climate in 1844, though it is uncertain whether this lecture was a result of information that Rüedi provided.
[48] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 41-42.
[49] Ibid., 42.
[50] Ibid., 40.
[51] Ibid., 40, 42.
[52] Most sources erroneously attribute this article to Alexander Spengler. Ibid., 43.
[53] Ibid., 43-44.
[54] Ibid., 44.
[55] Ibid., 50.
[56] Ibid., 50.
[57] Ibid., 51.

tuberculosis sufferers witnessed the wonders of high altitudes and communicated his findings to Meyer-Ahrens.[58] Spengler stressed that the six patients who came to Davos with bleeding in their lungs experienced not only an abatement of bleeding but also a cessation of sweating and fevers. The patients' lungs, though, continued to decay.[59] Meyer-Ahrens was unreceptive to Spengler's findings and wrote in the 1867 edition of *Die Heilquellen und Kurorte der Schweiz* that serious tubercular cases should avoid mountain resorts.[60] Subsequent communications with Meyer-Ahrens were equally unfruitful. Not only did Meyer-Ahrens reject Spengler's findings, but in his 1869 publication *Die Thermen von Bormio*, the Zurich doctor claimed that Davos was too cold for tuberculosis patients in the winter, and that warmer places such as Bormio should be placed foremost among winter health resorts.[61]

Despite the waning support of quasi-booster Meyer-Ahrens, Spengler pushed forward with the promotion of Davos as a health resort. In 1866, Spengler and local officials Hans Peter Fopp and Paul Müller undertook the building of the Kurhaus. Limited money, though, slowed work. In 1868, Willem Holsboer, a Dutch guest, became involved in the project.[62] Holsboer had come to Davos to rescue the health of his English wife, Margaret Jones, who suffered from tuberculosis. When Margaret died in October 1867, Holsboer, who had stayed at Spengler's house in order to save money, decided to partner with Spengler to create the Spengler-Holsboer Health Institute.[63] Before coming to Davos, Holsboer had served as co-director of the London branch of the Twentschen Bank in Amsterdam. Holsboer likely used his banking contacts to secure underwriters for the Kurhaus, which initially offered fifty beds.[64] When the Institute burned down in 1871, Holsboer contacted the Basel banker Friedrich Riggenbach, a former patient of the Institute, to get him to contribute money to rebuilding the institute.[65]

Creating the Winter Wonderland

The construction of the Kurhaus in 1869 was accompanied by Spengler's attempt to convince the public that alpine winters were actually good for one's health. In the pamphlet *Die Landschaft Davos als Kurort gegen Lungenschwindsucht*, Spengler argued contrary to Meyer-Ahrens that southern beach destinations had too much humidity and that Davos' cold air actually inhibited the ulcer process.[66] According to Spengler, the cold, thin air, far from being harmful, actually encouraged slower, deeper breathing, resulting in an enlargement of the thorax and greater lung capacity. The heart, too, was altered by the thin air, which caused it to pump blood more vigorously through the lungs.[67] Lung ailments, though, were just some of tuberculosis's symptoms, which included "wasting of the tissues," or severe weight loss.[68] To combat these

[58] Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 113.
[59] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 48.
[60] Ibid., 48-9.
[61] Ibid., 49.
[62] Ibid., 57.
[63] Ibid., 60-61.
[64] Ibid., 61.
[65] Ibid., 62.
[66] Ibid., 94-95.
[67] Ibid., 96-7.
[68] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 400.

symptoms, Spengler advised folk traditions such as regular milk consumption as well as his own maverick treatments such as cold showers, which he believed stimulated the appetite.[69]

Although Spengler promised that the winters in Davos were as rewarding as the summers, for the most part, guests came only in the summer. The primary problem inhibiting growth during the winter was room temperature. Since ovens were the only means for heating buildings, the number of heated rooms was limited. The first winter guests found only four heated rooms in town, all of which were at the Hotel Strehla. The construction of the fifty-bed Kurhaus as well as the Hotel Flüela raised the number of beds in Davos to 216 by 1870.[70] Even with the new accommodations, however, the town only had fifty guests during the 1869-70 winter. In 1870, though, both the Schweizerhof Hotel and the Hotel Post installed central steam heating, a technology that the Kurhaus adopted two years later.[71] By 1874, Davos tallied, for the first time, more guests in the winter than in the summer.[72]

The growth of the winter season was part of the general increase of visitor numbers in Davos during the early 1870s. In 1872, Davos had around 205 guests, 116 of whom were German. The remainder of the guests consisted of twenty-nine Swiss, nine Britons, and fifty-one visitors of unspecified nationalities.[73] The construction of the Buol Hotel in 1871-72 increased the number of available beds, and by 1874, guest numbers had doubled, climbing to 430.[74] The spike in guest numbers likely owed itself to the booming German economy, which had been encouraged by the speculative market. Visits to Davos were just part of spectrum of activities and entertainments in which Germans indulged following the Franco-Prussian War.[75] When the market crashed in 1873, Davos was not immediately affected. In fact, not until 1875 did guest numbers fail to meet or exceed the previous year's totals.[76] It is difficult to determine the exact downturn in Davos's patronage during the 1870s due to the dearth of detailed records chronicling the town's demographics. The closing of the recently opened Schönergrund Hotel in 1878 gives some indication of the recession's impact.[77] Passing references in the tourist literature provide further indications of the reach of Germany's financial woes. An 1877 report in the *Davoser Blätter* attributed the waning excitement surrounding the new sport of tobogganing, and thus tourist numbers in general, to the penetrating reach of Europe's financial calamity.[78] Despite the financial challenges in Germany, examination of the guest list for November 1876 show that the majority of visitors were still German. Of 358 guests listed, 289 had German surnames.[79]

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[69] Felix Suter, "Davos als Tuberkulose-Kurort," in Ernst Halter, ed. *Davos: Profil eines Phänomens* (Zurich: Offizin, 1994), 30.
[70] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 55, 126.
[71] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 65.
[72] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 38.
[73] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 39.
[74] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg*, 75; Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 39.
[75] Gordon A. Craig, *Germany 1866-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978): 78-85.
[76] There were 370 visitors in 1875, which was sixty short of the previous year's totals. Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 39.
[77] Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 115.
[78] *Davoser Blätter*, December 8, 1877.
[79] These numbers are approximate, as the number of family members accompanying a guest is not always specified. The "Fremdenliste" prints all non-English and non-French guests in gothic script. The seventeen Dutch guests and four Swedish guests are, thus, listed in gothic script. It

Hidden amidst the two pages of mostly German names were twenty-five English names. Printed in Roman characters, names such as Irving and Phillips stood out not only because the majority of the other names were printed in gothic script but because twenty-four of the names were listed under the Hotel and Pension Belvédère.[80] The font and arrangement of the English names suggested how the English would make themselves known in Davos: they would stick together like a colony, reinforcing their own ideas and beliefs and adopting few if any customs of those around them.

The British Colonization of Davos

The small size of the English colony in Davos in 1876 owed itself primarily to the town's lack of remarkable sights and scenery. As previously noted, by the 1860s English tourists had swarmed over much of the western Alps, particularly the regions around Chamonix, Lucerne, Zermatt, and the Bernese Oberland, areas which were both easily reached by rail and also offered stunning vistas.[81] The English were little interested in the popular mineral waters and baths, which one Murray guide noted they "treated with utter neglect."[82] British tourists, instead, were drawn into the mountains to glimpse such sights as the "beautiful lace veil" of the Staubbach waterfall in the Lauterbrunnen Valley.[83] Davos inspired no such prose. The 1867 edition of John Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland*, in fact, described the town as merely a pastoral place through which one passed on his way to the upper Engadine. The guide even dissuaded visitors from visiting neighboring canyons, in which "there is little remarkable in the scenery, which is of a wild and dreary nature."[84] These uninspiring words further discouraged travelers from enduring the thirteen-hour journey by train and carriage that was required to reach Davos from rail hubs like Zurich.[85]

Though unpopular with British guidebooks, Davos managed to attract a handful of British guests during the late 1860s and early 1870s who learned of Davos from German doctors. The first of these health tourists was Margaret Elisabeth Newell Jones Holsboer, who traveled to Davos with her husband Willem Holsboer, the future owner of Davos' Kurhaus Hotel.[86] The

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appears the visitors from the United States (3), Mexico (1), Brazil (1) and London (1) were also German, as their names are printed in gothic script and appear Germanic. I have, therefore, included these names in the total German tally. The majority of guests were from Germany, although the "Fremdenliste" shows a few guests from the Swiss cities of Chur and Zurich as well as an Austrian guest from Vienna. *Davoser Blätter*, December 1, 1876.

[80] *Davoser Blätter*, December 1, 1876.

[81] In 1867, the quickest route to Switzerland from London was to travel to Paris and then down to Neuchatel, a journey that required a little over twenty hours. The trip from London to Basel, on the other hand, took between 24 and 28 hours, depending on the route taken. *A Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland, and the Alps of Savoy and Piedmont*, 12th ed. (London: John Murray, 1867), xii.

[82] *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1867), l.

[83] *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1867), 83.

[84] *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1867), 283

[85] [Elizabeth MacMorland], *Davos-Platz: A New Alpine resort for Sick and Sound in Summer and Winter* (London: Edward Stanford, 1878), 223. MacMorland was not actually listed as the author. Officially it was "One Who Knows it Well."

[86] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 60. 71.

Holsboers learned of the town from Hermann Weber, a German doctor employed at the German Hospital in London, who in 1867 had published an article in the *British Medical Journal* praising Davos. Severely ill, Margaret Holsboer survived only five months in the village before succumbing to TB.[87] It would be almost two years before a second English health guest, Arthur Williams Waters, arrived in Davos. Unlike the Holsboers, Waters learned of the town while studying natural sciences in Heidelberg, and it is likely he was unaware of Weber's publications.[88] Other than Waters and Holsboer, few Britons seemed willing to trade their warm winters in Nice for the expected frigid ones of the Alps.[89]

A primary figure in convincing the British to winter in the mountains rather than on the Riviera was Hermann Weber. In 1869, the German doctor presented an argument to the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society on the advantages of elevated regions for phthisics, or people suffering from various "subacute and chronic inflammatory processes of the lungs usually leading to consumption."[90] In his speech, Weber carefully defined the parameters for what constituted a suitable elevated region, noting that there was no fixed elevation or latitude for identifying suitability. Rather, one could determine the appropriateness of any high-altitude location by whether phthisis was rare or unknown among the region's inhabitants. Weber further noted that the healthiness of these areas was mediated by the

> situation of a place on table-land, or on the top or on the slope of a hill, or at the bottom of a valley; the aspect to the north or the south; the configuration of the surrounding ground; the nearness of standing waters or marshy districts, and the elevation of the place above them; the habitual degree of the clearness or mistiness of the atmosphere, its purity, or the degree of admixture of foreign elements, mechanical and organic; the geological structure of the soil, and all circumstances influencing its degree of dampness or dryness.[91]

Following these criteria, Weber recommended the elevated regions of Switzerland, Germany, Peru, and Mexico over warm weather health resorts in Egypt, Algiers, and the Riviera.[92] Echoing Spengler's argument, Weber contended that the popular English belief that cold air was detrimental to a tubercular's health was, according to the evidence, simply not true. Not only was hemoptysis, the coughing up of blood, more rare at higher elevations, but the "principal morbid processes leading to consumption are [also] counteracted."[93] Weber postulated that higher elevations produced more invigorating air, allowing a phthisic, whose breathing was inhibited, to

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[87] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 60.
[88] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 26; Ferdmann, *Aufstieg*, 71.
[89] This type of British health tourism to the continent dated back to the mid 18th century when British travelers started visiting places such as Nice for its warm, healthy winters. Dennison Nash, "The Rise and Fall of an Aristocratic Tourist Culture: Nice 1763-1936." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6, no. 1 (January/March 1979), 61-75; Pimlott, *Englishman's Holiday*, 197-201.
[90] Hermann Weber, "On the Treatment of Phthisis by Prolonged Residence in Elevated Regions," *Lancet*, no. 8 (August 1869): 445.
[91] Ibid., 445.
[92] Ibid., 445-6.
[93] Ibid., 445.

absorb more oxygen than would be possible in the lowlands. Although patients could inhale this rejuvenating air in the summer, phthisics actually preferred the winter atmosphere because the soil and air were not only dry during this time of year, but the large amounts of oxygen in the atmosphere were uncontaminated by other substances. As a foundation for his argument, Weber cited the experiences of seventeen patients, fifteen of whom experienced "satisfactory" results at high elevations. Some of these fortunate patients, who had previously traveled to the warmer Mediterranean health resorts, acknowledged that the mountain locations offered greater health benefits than the coast. For eleven of these patients, the suffering from phthisis was not only ameliorated, it was extinguished altogether. Weber admitted, though, that a trip to the mountains did not free all patients from the plaguing symptoms of phthisis. According to his data, four of the sufferers who had responded well to high elevations actually succumbed to their lung ailment upon returning to "unhealthy localities and occupations."[94] Weber emphasized, though, that none of the seventeen patients had expired while at the higher elevations, though one patient had endured an "unsatisfactory" exposure to the robust atmosphere. Curiously missing from Weber's presentation, though, was the case of Margaret Holsboer, who had died while in Davos. Weber was either unaware of it, or unwilling to admit this fact to those in attendance.[95]

For the most part, the physicians who encountered Weber's ideas were receptive to his evidence. No one disputed that the patients had recovered their health, yet some of the physicians offered their own interpretations of the facts. One doctor pointed out that elevated regions often had low barometric pressure, which allowed patients to use their lungs half as often, thus not aggravating the disease. Yet another noted that low population density was the real source for Weber's results. Research had shown that the sparsely populated areas of Iceland and Scotland's western islands, even at sea level, were unwelcoming environments for phthisis. Dr. Symes Thompson endorsed Weber's ideas about the healthiness of elevated regions, though he could not support the German doctor's defense of cold weather. Thompson, instead, recommended an unnamed 10,000-foot mountain range in South Africa, where one could enjoy all the effects of high altitudes without facing the extreme cold.[96]

Weber's peculiar treatment, though well received, had little affect in the U.K. It was just one of many proposed remedies for treating tuberculosis that had survived scientific scrutiny and were published in the British medical journals during the second half of the nineteenth century. Each treatment suggested a regimen that addressed the chest pain, coughing, and weight loss associated with TB. In the 1840s, James Pollock, the Senior-Assistant Physician at England's Hospital for Consumption and Disease of the Chest, had recommended a "generous diet, horse exercise, and cod-liver oil" for one of his TB patients, who was suffering from what he called "classic symptoms." According to Pollock, his treatment program worked like an elixir, seemingly curing the patient's ills. Nine years later, though, the patient, who was in good health, inexplicably suffered a precipitous decline.[97] A doctor from Paris' Academy of Medicine, on the other hand, advised that doctors prevent their patients from sleeping at night because his research showed that bakers and other night workers suffered less during the late stages of TB.[98] The

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[94] Ibid., 445.
[95] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 71.
[96] Weber, "On the Treatment," 446.
[97] Pollock, "Lectures on the History," 405.
[98] "Latest Methods of Treatment Proposed in Phthisis," *Lancet*, 1st ser., no. 2 (February 1860): 133.

same doctor counseled patients to take warm baths with Kermes minerals and to imbibe not only syrup of tolu but also two rather peculiar drinks, one made of cod-liver oil and a bitter-almond syrup mix and another composed of sassafras, sarza, and a corrosive sublimate.[99] Yet another doctor claimed he had seen positive results from prescribing raw meat and alcohol in nearly 2,000 consumptive cases.[100] The multiple techniques for treating TB not only admitted the disease's pervasiveness, but also suggested its incurability. Other than promoting a vacation from London, Weber's proposed remedy looked little different from some of the other bizarre prescriptions.

Perhaps the ultimate limitation of Weber's treatment was his inability to recommend any accommodations in Davos. If a potential health tourist had turned to the Murray Guide for advice, he or she would have seen only a brief mention of the Hotel Strehla, which the guidebook described as "very fair," and the Rathaus, which the travel book which had once been decorated with thirty wolves heads and had since been converted into a "primitive inn."[101] The guide did not promise that one would find British tea, English church services, or customary English meal times that was becoming common among larger inns.[102]

Despite the lack of appealing hotels, Davos welcomed around nine British health guests in 1872, two of whom would have a profound impact upon the tourist industry in Davos.[103] Elizabeth MacMorland and her mother, Mrs. Bradshaw-Smith, came to Davos in 1871 in search of a healthy climate for the ailing MacMorland.[104] Although Mrs. Bradshaw-Smith was impressed with the effects of Davos' atmosphere upon her daughter's health, she was less overwhelmed by the local accommodations. While a guest at the Schweizerhof Hotel, Mrs. Bradshaw-Smith became acquainted with a young German named Johann Coester. A former salesman in Paris, Coester had come to Davos to treat his tuberculosis upon his expulsion from France following the Franco-Prussian War.[105] Coester spoke very good English and was a receptive listener to Mrs. Bradshaw-Smiths complaints that Davos lacked a hotel that catered primarily to British guests.[106]

The uprooted former salesman seized on the older woman's advice and decided to buy land to erect the desired English-friendly edifice, thus creating a new social space in Davos.[107] Coester's piece of land was situated between Davos Dorf and Platz, in an area called the "Horlauben," a patch of land on which residents had avoided erecting buildings due to the threat of falling debris, which occasionally ripped from the towering, 2,709 meter Shiahorn.[108] Despite the threat of falling rubble, Coester opened his hotel on July 17, 1875. Outfitted with thirty beds, the Belvedere made a moderate contribution to a town that by 1870 already had 216 beds.[109] The Belvedere, though, was more than just a medium-sized hotel; it was the social hub of the English

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[99] "Latest Methods," 133.
[100] "Raw Flesh and Brandy in Treatment of Phthisis," *Lancet*, no. 12 (December 1866): 782.
[101] *Handbook for Travellers in Switzerland* (1867), 283.
[102] Ibid., xxix.
[103] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 39.
[104] Ibid., 27.
[105] Ibid., 30.
[106] Ibid., 30.
[107] Ibid., 31.
[108] Ibid., 50.
[109] Ibid., 31, 55.

community. To replicate British life as much as possible, Coester bought a harmonium, prayer benches, prayer books, and hymn books for Sunday services, which were held in the hotel's dining room.[110] By the winter of 1883/84, the Belvedere advertised a dining room for 150 people, a tea hall, a library, a smoking room, a billiards room (with an authentic British table), and a reading room with the best-known English, German, and French magazines and newspapers. The hotel also promised guests weekly symphony concerts.[111] The hotel's advertisements belied any indication that many of the Belvedere's guests were convalescing tuberculosis patients. Rather, the Belvedere looked like a British leisure resort.

With so much to offer the British traveler, the Belvedere's guest lists grew quickly in the latter half of the 1870s. Although the hotel initially hosted only five guests, including Elizabeth MacMorland and her family, just under a year-and-a-half later the Belvedere boasted thirty-one guests, twenty-five of them British.[112] The Belvedere in November 1876, in fact, accounted for all of Davos' British guests save for one, who stayed at the Kurhaus. British guests, however, composed only a fraction of Davos' roughly 358 guests, of whom 289 had German surnames.[113]

Although small in number, the Belvedere's guests had a huge impact on Davos' demographics over the following few years as they unleashed a public relations campaign in Britain, penning articles and travel books about the tiny town in southeastern Switzerland. Just two years after the Belvedere opened, Elizabeth MacMorland published a travel book entitled *Davos-Platz: A New Alpine Resort for Sick and Sound in Summer and Winter*, which praised the Belvedere and the healthy air of Davos. In MacMorland's opinion, Davos appeared as a place where people came to celebrate their health, not one where they hoped to recover it. In Davos, MacMorland wrote, people "mistake the sick for sound, and *vice versá*."[114] The book was well received in England where the *Times* strongly recommended it for invalids and also noted that "those who visit the valley merely for pleasure will [also] find it an adequate guide."[115] Even *The Lancet* praised the book's sweeping knowledge of Davos, noting the guidebook belonged in the company of Murray's Guides.[116] The book's success was accompanied by a flourishing of media

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[110] Ibid., 53. Church services were not exclusively held in the Belvedere. They were, at times also held in the Kurhaus. For an example of a church service advertisement, see *Davoser Blätter*, October 6, 1876.
[111] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 63.
[112] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 31. The number of guests may be more than 31 as some guests are listed as bringing and unspecified number of family members. *Davoser Blätter*, December 1, 1876.
[113] These numbers are approximate, as the number of family members accompanying a guest is not always specified. The "Fremdenliste" prints all non-English and non-French guests in gothic script. The seventeen Dutch guests and four Swedish guests are, thus, listed in gothic script. It appears the visitors from the United States (3), Mexico (1), Brazil (1) and London (1) were also German, as their names are printed in gothic script and appear Germanic. I have, therefore, included these names in the total German tally. The overwhelming number of visitors were from Germany, although the "Fremdenliste" shows a few guests from the Swiss cities of Chur and Zurich as well as an Austrian guest from Vienna. *Davoser Blätter*, December 1, 1876.
[114] MacMorland, *Davos-Platz.* 15.
[115] *The Times* in "Davos-Platz, a New Alpine Resort" advertisement, *Davoser Blätter*, January 18, 1879.
[116] Ibid.

attention in England about Davos. Coester, himself, kept a tally of articles that appeared in British periodicals during 1877, counting twenty-five, both large and small, printed in thirteen publications.[117] The following year was equally impressive, as seventeen articles appeared in fourteen publications.[118]

The impact of free advertising was almost immediate on Davos' visitor numbers. By December 1877, the *Davoser Blätter* noted a recent spike in tourists, who now numbered 450.[119] The paper offered no immediate explanation for the increase, but it later credited the rise to the arrival of English guests, who helped the numbers climb from 500 in 1877 to 800 in 1879.[120] The new influx was astounding. By the winter of 1878/79, the Belvedere was no longer the sole refuge for British guests. In fact, Coester's hotel provided beds for only eighty-two of Davos' 254 British guests.[121] Responding to the English onslaught, in 1876 Caspar Buol, a local hotel owner, built the Hotel Schweizerhaus across from the Buol Hotel, an already popular, British-friendly hotel.[122] The new hotel featured a confectionary as well as a breakfast parlor, which was a popular meeting spot for the British.[123] As testament to the rising number of British guests as well as the influence of Davos' hoteliers, the *Davoser Blätter*, at the request of the Buol and Belvedere hotels, agreed in November 1878 to publish the "News of the Week" in English.[124]

Ice Skating to Alleviate Boredom

English text in the local newspapers was not the only way German guests witnessed the British impact on Davos society. British visitors also made themselves noticeable with their tendency to recreate. As early as December 1876, the *Davoser Blätter* expressed muted shock about the brazen English colony who, in spite of the health implications, had ventured northeast of the village to frozen Lake Davos to ice skate.[125] Although the paper's correspondent could never have determined how many of the skaters were indeed suffering from tuberculosis, the English skaters' actions showed little regard for the regimen of tuberculosis treatment. They freely left the hotels, and thus the watchful eye of the doctors, to go ice skating when there was a rink already available in front of the Kurhaus.

The paper's astonished remarks at the sight of English skaters were not just a critique of English visitors; they were indications about the general lack of interest in sport among Germans. In fact, in 1874, before there were enough English to constitute a colony, the *Blätter* suggested that a large part of the sick population be excluded from the ice.[126] Elizabeth MacMorland, in her guidebook, also noted how Germans were largely uninterested in ice skating.[127] German guests were not totally averse to exercise. The pages of the *Blätter* actually

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[117] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 33.
[118] Ibid., 33.
[119] *Davoser Blätter*, December 29, 1877.
[120] *Davoser Blätter*, January 7, 1882.
[121] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 32-33.
[122] Guest lists for winter early 1879 show the Buol to be an almost entirely English hotel. Only seven of the fifty guests listed were not British. *Davoser Blätter*, February 1, 1879.
[123] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 51, 126.
[124] *Davoser Blätter*, November 30, 1878.
[125] *Davoser Blätter*, December 22, 1876.
[126] *Davoser Blätter*, October 22, 1874.
[127] MacMorland, *Davos-Platz,* 41.

praised the Kurverein for maintaining trails to the Schatzalp, noting that such paths allowed many visitors a chance for “lung gymnastics.”[128] Certainly, people hiking on trails would have sweated as much as those who decided to glide across the ice. The primary difference was that walking was an actual prescribed activity of Spengler’s treatment. Furthermore, walking was more akin to marching, an exercise endorsed by German *Turners*, the primary advocates of physical education in Germany.[129] Ice skating, on the other hand, was only just beginning to attract the attention of German speakers, primarily those in Vienna.[130]

Unlike the Germans, the English, particularly the upper classes, were well accustomed to ice skating by the 1870s. In England, skating books had been in circulation since 1772, when Robert Jones published *The Art of Skating*, a book that not only described skating techniques but also outlined criteria for choosing skates.[131] Skating clubs, too, were quite old. The London Skating Club in fact had been formed in 1830 and quickly attracted a distinguished membership that at one point included the Prince and Princess of Wales as well as the Duke of Cambridge.[132] By 1869, the club had 130 members, primarily clergymen, nobility, and professionals.[133] Although men constituted the majority of the club members, ice skating, from its earliest days was not considered a solely a sport for men. In his 1772 book, Robert Jones even suggested that ice skating was an activity in which women could engage in conversation with another man without provoking ire among their husbands.[134]

The appeal of ice skating must also be viewed within the context of daily life in Davos. In the isolated, snow-bound environment of the Landwasser Valley, there were only so many diversions for guests and their family members. Chess, billiards, reading, and letter writing could only hold one’s attention for so long. Bored with these activities, one could resort to sport or amuse oneself by spreading gossip and rumor, which one German travel guide claimed were popular amusements.[135] As one British commentator remarked, life in Davos was akin to that experienced among the bleak environs of the North Pole as a person had to entertain himself in order “to prevent the energies of the mind and body from falling . . . into complete stagnation.”[136] Despairing that there was nothing to report about, even the *Davoser Blätter* found consolation in the fact that Davos was not the only health resort “where no events take place,”

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[128] *Davoser Blätter*, January 25, 1879. For the quote about “lung gymnastics,” see *Davoser Blätter*, February 8, 1879.
[129] Naul, “History of Sport and Physical Education in Germany, 1800-1945,” in *Sport and Physical Education in Germany*, ed, Naul, 17.
[130] Nigel Brown, *Ice Skating: A History*. (New York, 1959), 85-90. Brown’s book is still the best English source on the history of ice skating. Textual references to primary sources indicate that the text was thoroughly researched. Unfortunately, the book does not include any footnotes. James R. Hines, *Figure Skating: A History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006) relies heavily on Brown’s study.
[131] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 24-5.
[132] Brown, *Ice Skating*, 66.
[133] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 31.
[134] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 24.
[135] Schmid, “Davos-Platz,” 69.
[136] *Davos Courier*, December 21, 1889.

noting that Nice, too, was equally mundane.[137] "In the life of the visitor," wrote the paper, "nothing appears to happen that is worthy of being called an event."[138]

Empire and Ice Rinks

Despite the surprise that the *Davoser Blätter* expressed at seeing English skaters, it is important to remember that exercise was a feature of tuberculosis treatment in Davos. Alexander Spengler, in fact, recommended limited hiking, walking, and other exercises as part of an effective regimen. It is no wonder, then, that Willem Holsboer, a Dutchman, who founded the Spengler-Holsboer Health Institution in 1868, added his country's popular sport of ice skating to the list of acceptable activities by creating the first artificial skating rink in his hotel's garden during the winter of 1869.[139] Among the mostly German guests, the rink was a huge success and, two years later, was enlarged to 500 square meters and moved below the hotel to an area near the gas factory.[140] The rink's popularity continued throughout the 1870s, and by 1875 the Verkehrsverein offered Holsboer 200 francs to enlarge the rink, but the hotelier turned it down saying he no longer had interest in maintaining the rink himself. As a result, the enlargements were never carried out.[141] Still, in 1876, despite Holsboer's waning interest in maintaining the rink, the *Davoser Blätter* noted that there was a great rink available for skating.[142]

Although the *Blätter* seemed content with the rink, British guests such as J. G. Mackan were not. Mackan was none too pleased with the frozen "puddle" that served as Davos' ice rink.[143] As a result, Mackan along with another British guest set out to create a rink that would provide recreation for "companions of the sick and those who were not too sick or suffered from nervous disorders."[144] Despite Mackan's assurance of public access to his rink, local officials refused to help fund the venture despite their willingness the previous year to aid Holsboer.[145] Hotelier Johann Coester helped resolve this issue when he bought a piece of land suggested by his British guests and, at the cost of 7000 francs, built a new rink.[146] Coester's rink, which opened on November 19, 1877, was clearly intended for British guests, though he claimed he built it for the betterment of the community as well.[147]

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[137] *Davoser Blätter*, November 22, 1879.
[138] *Davoser Blätter*, November 29, 1879.
[139] Suter, "Davos als Tuberkulose-Kurort," 30 and Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 80. Curiously, there is little-to-no reference to Holsboer's nationality in any secondary sources on Davos. One must turn to the English travel guides, which were ever aware of someone's nationality, to see it mentioned. For the reference to Holsboer's nationality, see J. E. Murdock, *Guide to Davos-Platz* (London, 1890), 16. The Dutch contribution to ice skating technique is the Dutch Role, a technique that encourages skaters to push from side to side to create momentum. For a description of the Dutch influence on skating, see Hines, *Figure Skating*, *20*.
[140] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 80.
[141] Ibid.
[142] *Davoser Blätter*, December 22, 1876.
[143] Mackan voiced his complaints in German in the *Davoser Blätter*, January 26, 1877.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 80-81.
[147] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 82, Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 153, and *Davoser Blätter*, December 12, 1886 (re-check)

The quest for ice space quickly began to resemble a microcosm of the imperial scramble for land and hegemony throughout Africa and Asia. Just three years after Coester opened his rink, rival hoteliers and non-British guests joined forces to enlarge Holsboer's original 500-square-meter rink by the gas factory.[148] Supporters of the two rinks subsequently competed for the next few years, enlarging and improving the facilities of each rink. As early as the winter of 1880/81, the Davos Skating Club, which oversaw the operation of the large rink by the gas factory, sold 165 yearly cards, 107 audience cards, 25 kindergarten cards, and smattering of monthly, weekly, and daily cards.[149] Following the 1883/84 winter, however, the competition ceased as local officials condemned Coester's rink to allow for the realignment of the Landwasser River. Davos' guests were left with only the gas factory rink, which by this time had a pavilion and restaurant.[150] The already popular rink watched as season cards increased to 280 while audience cards mushroomed to 180. Combined, the subscription numbers accounted for over a third of Davos' 1,300 winter guests in 1884-85.[151]

Despite the rink's consistent patronage, the facilities failed to satisfy the sensibilities of the British community and their greatest supporter—Johannes Coester. By 1886, Coester engaged in a public debate in the *Blätter* about the rink's poor quality and insufficient size. Referring to the rink as a cesspool, Coester challenged the rink's owners to secure a loan to improve their skating facilities.[152] British guests soon piled on, logging complaints in the *Davoser Blätter* concerning the lack of leveling and watering on the rink. According to one British guest, writing in 1886, it was only thanks to the tireless efforts of two or three British guests that the rink was in decent shape. Fed up with the lack of attention paid to the rink, this same guest threatened to go to St. Moritz, where, he claimed, there was a well-maintained rink.[153] The guest might have also noted that a majority of St. Moritz's guests were British.[154]

The threat of one British guest to abandon Davos for another Swiss resort seemed harmless, and it may have been. What is important about the comment, though, was how it indicated the British influence in Davos. Arguments about the village's sporting facilities were really political contests in which local Swiss were forced to realize the economic reach of the British Empire.

To resolve the dispute, and thus keep British guests in town, the Kurverein, the organization dedicated to health concerns of Davos, assumed responsibility for securing a sanitary source of water for the gas factory rink.[155] The fact that the Kurverein created a special ice-rink reservoir to prevent the rink's owners from using hotel sewage to flood the rink may have fit within the broad definition of the Kurverein's responsibilities.[156] That the Kurverein, the following year, took over the operation of the ice rink and accompanying pavilion from the

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[148] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 153, and Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 80, 82.
[149] Ferdmann, *Aufsteig von Davos*, 156.
[150] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 82-83.
[151] Fred Rubi, "Der Wintertourismus in der Schweiz: Entwicklung, Struktur und volkswirtschaftliche Bedeutung" (Inaugural-Dissertation, Bern University, 1953), 3.
[152] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 84.
[153] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," *Davoser Blätter*, November 27, 1886.
[154] In January 1880, for example, 202 of the 248 guests in St. Moritz were British. Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 145.
[155] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 85.
[156] Ibid.

Davos Skating Club signaled that recreation was an emerging focus of the health resort. The Kurverein essentially replaced the Davos Skating Club as it agreed to both maintain order on the ice according to the club's statues, as well as to keep subscription rates at their present levels.[157]

It is striking that the predominant argument among sportsmen during the 1880s concerned the quality and size of the ice rink. It might have made more sense if the skating spats had centered around whether or not to allow tuberculosis patients on the ice. After all, in 1882, the German doctor Robert Koch had definitively proven that tuberculosis was contagious. This medical revelation, though, hardly impacted Davos. Although guest numbers climbed to only 980 in 1883, from the 900 who had visited in 1882, by 1885 guest numbers had resumed their rapid climb, topping out at 1144 guests.[158] During a period when one would have imagined a crisis, Davos flourished, witnessing the 1885 opening of the Hotel Victoria, the third hotel dedicated to British guests.[159] With so many British guests, it was only natural that the following year saw the arrival of Davos' first English doctor, William Richard Huggard.[160] Fittingly, a British guidebook to Davos, published in 1890, omitted any reference to Koch whatsoever and praised Davos as an excellent resort for tuberculosis patients. The only caveat the guide offered regarding tuberculosis was that Davos should be considered a retreat only for the less serious tuberculosis cases.[161]

Despite the soundness of his findings, Koch's discovery failed to convince many physicians and their patients. Emboldening the skeptical doctors were German and English medical journals, which published articles refuting the science behind Koch's revelation with their own empirical findings.[162] In a place such as Davos, where both healthy and sick guests resided together in hotels, Koch's discovery held little credibility. After all, there had been no epidemic in Davos.

Davos's ability to weather the mania created by Koch's frightening findings was evidence that village was transcending the meaning of the *Kurort*. No longer simply a mountain hamlet dedicated to the recuperation of invalids, Davos was becoming a place where people came to celebrate their robustness. The first issue of the *Davos Courier*, the English-language tourist newspaper, emphasized this much when it noted in November 1888 that "worshippers at the shrine of Mother Nature, in her medical capacity, and worshippers at the shrine of their own sweet pleasure, compose the present population of Davos the Health-resort [*sic*]."[163]

That the British community identified more with the pleasure seekers in Davos can be gleaned from the pages of the *Davos Courier*, which often referred to tuberculosis euphemistically and rarely indicated that Davos was an invalid community at all. The front page of the paper's fourth issue, for example, provided information about the Swiss Alpine Club, the English Literary Society, and the English Church. The only reference to tuberculosis was for the "Fund for the support of Invalids having insufficient means."[164] The focus on pleasure was even more evident in the paper's evaluation of whether guests could or would support a figure skating

157 *Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
158 Ferdmann, *Aufsteig von Davos*, 80.
159 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 50.
160 Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 74.
161 Murdock, *Guide to Davos-Platz*, 8-9.
162 Dormandy, *White Death*, 135-36.
163 *Davos Courier*, November 1, 1888.
164 *Davos Courier*, November 22, 1888.

club. Rather than addressing how the club might provide a social group for those not afflicted by tuberculosis, the paper omitted any reference to invalids and merely suggested that a meeting be held to determine what rules the club should follow and what type of costume should be adopted. The article reflected the ethos of the English public schools and elite education, which embraced sport and competition as virtues in themselves.[165] Men raised in such a culture required no defense for forming a sporting club.

The Virtues of Ice Skating

By the late 1880s, British interest in ice skating began to center increasingly on its value as a sport that required discipline and practice from its practitioners. In this way, skating certainly benefited from the indulgent attitude toward sports that developed in England during the latter half of the nineteenth century.[166] This reverence for sports emerged in the elite English Public Schools beginning in the 1850s when men like G. E. L. Cotton introduced sports to combat the frequent delinquent behavior of students who delighted in poaching animals and trespassing on neighboring properties. Cotton believed that games would provide the children with order when outdoors and suggested that his school, Marborough, subscribe to various games clubs for this purpose.[167] Around the same time, the Harrow School created the Philathletic Club to promote games and thus divert its students from their regular recreations, which included not only throwing stones at ponies and dogs but also staging cat and dog fights.[168] The proponents of sport believed that organized games would direct students away from these corrosive behaviors and inculcate obedience and courage, thus helping nurture men that would grow the British Empire.[169]

The masculine cult of sporting competition pulled ice skating into its orbit in 1879 when the National Skating Association was founded. The group originally intended to give structure to speed skating races, but it quickly began to establish standards for figure skating, for which it created various tests to assess a skater's abilities.[170]

The formation of the National Skating Association had a clear influence in Davos, where English guests began in 1888 to discuss creating their own skating club. The interested individuals set about studying the rules of both the London Skating Club and the National

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[165] Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 74-86.

[166] Sport was cultivated and encouraged in the elite English public schools and also praised for its distinction of manliness in an age that saw the definition of the effete homosexual. Holt, *Sport and the British*, 86-98. For information about the rise of sports such as soccer, cricket, golf, and others, see Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 123-140. Neither of these books pays any attention to ice skating, though it was a popular British sport dating back to the eighteenth century. For the prominent role of English in developing ice skating, see Hines, *Figure Skating*, 23-40.

[167] J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public Schools: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 22-23.

[168] Mangan, *Athleticism*, 28-32.

[169] Mangan, *Athleticism*, 9.

[170] Brown, *Ice Skating*, 122-123.

Skating Association and in February 1889 officially constituted as the Davos Skating Club.[171] The new club adopted the figure skating standards of the NSA and limited membership to those who could skate a "forward outside eight and the outside edge backwards" in front of appointed judges.[172] As a group of serious skaters, the club announced that it had little interest in the social skating among men and women, who often locked arms and skated at high speeds.[173]

The affiliation of the Davos Skating Club with the National Skating Association validated Davos as a sports resort.[174] Prior to this point, Davos' rink had been essentially free of figure skaters, practitioners of a rigid form of skating, developed in England, which sought deft execution of certain prescribed figures, such as the letter Q, by a skater skating on one leg and transferring his weight from edge to edge.[175] Davos was now one of the NSA's chapters, thus including it in discussions of ice and weather conditions that inevitably occurred among club members, who could never be assured of a regular skating season in London.[176]

The club's formation coincided nicely with the extension of the railroad to Davos in 1890, which made Davos more accessible to the short-term sports tourist. What had once been a seven-hour carriage ride from Landquart, the town with the closest train station to Davos, had become a 2.5-hour scenic train ride.[177] The Davos branch of the NSA used this development as a selling point in attracting NSA members in Britain. At the annual meeting of the National Skating Association in fall 1890, the Honorable Secretary read a letter from the Davos branch that implored the club's London members to take advantage of the new rail line and visit Davos.[178] With train service all the way, the club noted, one had the option of a short trip to Davos.[179]

The extension of the railroad, combined with the marketing efforts of the Davos Skating Club, elevated skating's importance in Davos. Whereas both recreational and figure skaters had been scarce during the winter of 1888-89 compared to tobogganers,[180] by 1892, the *Davos Courier* was claiming that skating was the most popular sport.[181] The paper noted that there were now good male skaters demonstrating excellent skating technique while amateur instructors were conducting daily lessons.[182]

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171 *The Davos Courier*, November 15, 1888; February 9, 1889.
172 *The Davos Courier*, October 19, 1889.
173 *The Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
174 *Davos Courier*, February 9, 1889. Although the National Skating Association had been formed in 1879 to regulate speed skating, by 1880 it welcomed figure skating as one of its sanctioned disciplines. Hines, *Figure Skating*, 39-40.
175 *Davos Courier*, November 15, 1888. Robert Hines provides a good overview of figure skating, from its earliest descriptions in 1772 through the nineteenth century in *Figure Skating,* 24-35.
176 During December 1891, *Deutscher Eis-Sport* noted that the ice in Davos was good while English skating weather was poor. *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, Jg. 1, No. 7 (December 20, 1891).
177 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 40.
178 *Davos Courier*, November 1, 1890.
179 *Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
180 *Davos Courier*, November 15, 1888, and February 2, 1889.
181 *Davos Courier*, January 23, 1892.
182 *Davos Courier*, January 23, 1892.

By the late 1890s, the English were not the sole proponents of sport. Influenced by English merchants and academics as well as their own trips to England, Germans began to adopt many of the English customs and sporting habits. Up to this point, German sport had been limited to gymnastics (*Turnen*), an activity that had been promoted by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn during the early 1800s as a way to literally strengthen and unite the German people in the face of Napoleon's growing power.[183] *Turnen* had been closely linked to the failed revolution of 1848, which forced many Turners to flee Germany. The founding of Germany in 1870 revived the Turners, whose nationalist desires finally found a voice in Bismarck's Germany.[184]

While German Turners struggled for public acceptance, elite and middle-class Germans slowly adopted English sports. This trend began first in key trading cities such as Hamburg, Bremen, and Frankfurt where English traders introduced sports. In 1859, Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays at Rugby* was translated into German. Hughes's novel, inspired by his own experiences at Rugby, a public school, described the prominent role of organized sport in English public schools and thus illustrated the concept of muscular Christianity, an idea that sports made men fit for establishing and maintaining the English Empire.[185] Visits by German intellectuals and others to England also aided the introduction of English sports to Germany. In the 1870s, for example, August Hermann, a gymnastics teacher in Braunschweig, was so impressed by English soccer that he brought a soccer ball back to Germany and introduced the sport at his school. By 1878, Hermann's school also featured regular cricket matches. [186]

The growth of English sports was not just a local and individual trend. By the 1880s, Germans began to form national sporting clubs. The first of the major sports clubs had been the *Deutsche Turnerschaft* (German Gymnastics Federation), which was formed in 1868. Clubs based on English sports soon followed. In 1883 the German Rowing Association was formed, which was followed by the German Swimming Association (1886) and the German Football and Rugby Association (1890).[187]

The Davos Skating Club sensed the new sporting climate in continental Europe and saw an opportunity to encourage competitive skating among Davos's other guests. In February 1891, the club sponsored a series of speed skating races that attracted involvement from visitors of numerous nationalities. The club's affiliation with the National Skating Association likely influenced its decision to hold the races, since the NSA's primary focus was speed skating.[188] Open to all nationalities, the club printed advertisements in French, German, and English and

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[183] Roland Naul, "History of Sport and Physical Education in Germany, 1800-1945," in Naul, *Sport and Physical Education in Germany*, 15-16. Jahn's influence on German sport is also treated in Eisenberg, *"English Sport" und Deutsche Burger*, 105-120.
[184] Annette R. Hofmann and Gertrud Pfister, "Turnen—a Forgotten Movement Culture: Its Beginnings in Germany and Diffusion in the United States," in Annette R. Hofmann, ed., *Turnen and Sport: Transatlantic Transfers* (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2004), 15-16.
[185] Naul, "History of Sport and Physical Education in Germany," 18. For a description of Muscular Christianity and it early proponents, see Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 11-19.
[186] Naul, "History of Sport," 18.
[187] Ibid., 19.
[188] The club had initially been founded to establish speed skating rules. Hines, *Figure Skating*, 39, 75.

formed a race committee representative of Davos' guest demographics, comprising three Britons, three Germans, two Dutchmen, two Swiss, and one member each from Russia, France, and Belgium.[189] Although the event initially suffered from too few participants, the decision to change locations to the Kurverein rink attracted a crowd of 700 who watched both figure and speed skating events.[190] By the end of the December 1891, Davos had grabbed the attention of the new German winter sports magazine *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, the official organ of the German and Austrian Skating Association. In its summary of skating activities in England, the magazine noted that while wet weather had forced the cancellation of a National Skating Association competition in England, both Davos and neighboring St. Moritz were reporting good ice conditions. [191]

The efforts of the Davos Skating Club promote speed skating in Davos were likely an attempt to encourage the Kurverein to build more sporting facilities in Davos. By including other nationalities in the races, the Davos Skating Club illustrated that the Kurverein the popularity of sports and the potential for attracting new guests. Part of the club's original intent had been to secure their own patch of ice in Davos.[192] In 1892, prominent guest Elizabeth MacMorland wrote the Kurverein to make the case that tourism would improve if the Kurverein gave the Davos Skating Club its own section of the ice rink. To strengthen her case, MacMorland pointed out that the Davos Skating Club was under the umbrella of the National Skating Association, which was overseen by the Price of Wales.[193] Recreational skaters bolstered the club's case for their own rink by complaining about figure skaters who placed balls and gloves on the ice as centers around which they skated.[194] These aids encumbered skaters who typically delighted in skating at full speed around the rink, often linking arms with one or two people.[195] The Kurverein eventually conceded to the club's demands and in 1892 roped off two areas for figure skaters, one of which was only to be used by members of the Davos Skating Club.[196] By 1895, thirty to forty skaters were coming to Davos each Christmas just to skate.[197]

In many ways, Davos became a venue for imperialist rivalry and a venue for quasi-colonialism. By 1894, German skating clubs were no longer referring to Davos as a British resort. In fact, *Deutscher Eis-Sport* began urging German skaters to consider Davos, rather than Norway, for their practice venues, since Davos had great weather, good ice, and all the usual comforts that athletes expected.[198]

The popularity of Davos' ice in the German sporting news reflected the greater involvement of Germans in maintaining the skating rinks and promoting the International Skating Competition.[199] Beginning in 1895, the recently reconstituted International Skating Club

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189 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 86-87.
190 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 87.
191 *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, December 20, 1891.
192 *Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
193 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 92.
194 *Davos Courier*, December 21, 1889.
195 *Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
196 *Davos Courier*, March 19, 1892.
197 *Davos Courier*, January 26, 1895.
198 *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, February 1, 1894.
199 An examination of ice rink subscription sales for 1894-95, indicates the wide popularity of skating among all Davos' guests. Of the 7,782 francs raised that winter, the subscriptions were

of Davos (ISCD), which had no British members, was appointed the organizer of the yearly competition.[200] The ISCD preserved a non-competitive program of English skating, but the remainder of the events consisted of speed and figure skating contests judged according to the rules of the German and Austrian Skating Associations.[201] The predominance of Germans in the races caused the English press to refer to the event as the German International Skating Competition.[202] Though British participation in speed skating was wanting, as spectators Britons were hardly lacking in enthusiasm. Such zeal presented itself in the *Courier* in 1898, when it announced that "the climax of a truly record skating season is at hand, and will be brought to a brilliant conclusion on Saturday and Sunday by the contest for the World's Championship in Speed Skating for 1898."[203] The races highlighted the consistently good skating weather in Davos at a time when Amsterdam, the host of the first four World Championships, had no ice. "From an English point of view," the paper noted, "the competition had been robbed of a great attraction" as the hailed English speed skater Mr. Eddington had left for England.[204] British guests would still appear on skates as part of the festivities, but only in figure skating competitions and exhibitions.[205]

The absence of British participants in the speed skating races did not indicate an attenuation of British interest in skating.[206] On the other hand, it demonstrated the class identification of Davos' British guests. Speed skating, in fact, was hardly foreign to the British. Imported by Dutch laborers, who had come to the fen district north of London to build canals, speed skating had been a documented sport since the latter half of the eighteenth century.[207] For agricultural workers who had little means for making money in the bitter cold, the Dutch sport offered a chance to win money by either racing or wagering bets. As a testament to the sport's popularity, James Drake Digby founded the National Skating Association in 1879 to establish a standard set of rules for speed skating.[208] Over time, speed skaters divided themselves into professional and amateur classes, or working class and middle class skaters, respectively. According to the NSA's rules, an amateur was one "who has never taught, pursued, or assisted in the practice of athletic exercises as a means of obtaining a livelihood."[209] Regardless of these

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divided as follows: 2,900 francs from the British, 2,630 from the Germans, 1,015 from the Swiss, 520 from the Dutch, 420 from the French, 75 from the Belgians, and 222 francs from all remaining guests. Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 93.

200 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 90.

201 *Davos Courier*, January 5, 1895.

202 *Davos Courier*, January 5, 1895.

203 *Davos Courier*, February 3, 1898.

204 *Davos Courier*, February 3, 1898.

205 *Davos Courier*, February 3, 1898.

206 British patronage of Davos climbed from 1733 in 1890 to 2,643 in 1900. Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 39, 126.

207 Dianne Holum, *The Complete Handbook of Speed Skating* (Hillside, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, Inc., 1984), 5-6. Holum provides no sources, but her book is the only source I have found that mentions anything about speed skating.

208 Hines, *Figure Skating*, 39.

209 Un-cited quote in Hines, *Figure Skating*, 39. Presumably the quote is from Dennis Bird, *Our Skating Heritage: A Centenary History of the National Skating Association of Great Britain, 1879-1979* (London: National Skating Association of Great Britain, 1979).

definitions, when compared with figure skating, which had long been a sport of the nobility, speed skating offered little competition. Davos was, after all, a place primarily accessible to people of means.

To further reflect their local hegemony, British guests persisted in a campaign to secure a rink of their own for figure skating. Although the Kurverein, due to the success of the skating races, enlarged the ice rink by the winter of 1891/92 to 16,000 m^2, the British remained steadfast in their desire for their own patch of ice.[210] The need for a new rink, though, ran up against the actual logistics of creating one. Although it was easy to freeze water in Davos, the costs for both flooding a rink and clearing it of snow were prohibitive. After all, the original Davos Skating Club,[211] despite regular club subscriptions,[212] folded in 1887, handing over both operation of the rink and a debt of 2,100 francs to the Kurverein.[213] Aware of the maintenance costs, the club initially despaired of obtaining its own rink.[214] As noted above, by spring 1892, the Kurverein had agreed to reserve two areas for figure skaters only, one of which would be accessible only to those who had passed the Davos Skating Club's tests.[215] The English guests, though, would have to wait until 1897 to receive their own rink from local officials. This feat would be accomplished through enlisting the help of hoteliers as well as logging complaints about the Kurverein's rink in the local papers. English visitors also regularly threatened to take their skating business elsewhere to places such as Grindelwald and St. Moritz.[216] Though there were rinks in England, no one threatened to remain there to skate. Outdoor rinks were unreliable and indoor, artificial rinks were often too crowded for figure skating.[217] Davos, on the other hand, had large rinks in the open air.

The new rink paid dividends for the English skating community in Davos by attracting many new members to the Davos Skating Club. More people, though, were not what the club necessarily desired. Crowded rinks were what one found in England; Davos was a place for the skater of means. Consequently, at the same time that the club rejoiced that figure skating had attracted particular attention from women, it also noted that it planned to control its swelling numbers by raising subscription rates.[218] For the English, Davos had become a place for sports and recreation, but only for an exclusive group.

Fights over ice space in Davos represented the colonial attitudes of Victorian Britain. The British emphasis on sports in Davos overshadowed the resort's history as a center for convalescing tuberculosis patients. Initially, local doctors had promoted Davos for its particular climate. British guests, however, succeeded in making Davos interesting because of its recreation options. The health characteristics of the town mattered little, but its British ambience did.

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[210] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 88.
[211] The Davos Skating Club was officially recognized in 1883 when it was listed in the *Graubünder Handelregister* in Chur. The club, though, began collecting club subscriptions in 1880. Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 155-6.
[212] During the winter of 1884-85, subscriptions provided the club with a 3,040 franc profit. Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 156
[213] *Davos Courier*, December 15, 1894.
[214] *Davos Courier*, November 2, 1889.
[215] *Davos Courier*, March 19, 1892.
[216] *Davos Courier*, 26 January and 2 February, 1895.
[217] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 90.
[218] *Davos Courier*, March 17, 1898.

British ice meant British colonization. This fact was not lost on the editors of the *Davos Courier*, who wrote, "Suppose for a moment that England suddenly became a popular resort of the Chinese nation, who introduced cricket as played in China, grumbled at lords because the turf was not kept in order, annexed the centre of the ground, roped it round, and cuffed each small English boy who ventured within the sacred precincts."[219]

Sex, Speed, and Sledding

Skating was not the only light recreation that guests used to reify their national differences. The local sport of tobogganing also attracted the attention of vacationing Britons. Unlike ice skating, however, tobogganing was an activity guests adopted from local Davosers, who created large wooden sleds with metal runners to glide down snow-covered hills and snow-packed roads.[220]

Tobogganing had been a regular Davos pastime long before the British arrived. Following the first heavy snow, local children and adults usually scrambled up hillsides to whisk down them on their sleds.[221] Throughout Switzerland, in fact, winter signaled a time of play for the youth, who organized sledding parties to celebrate a feast day or to welcome someone home from military service. Snow-covered roads were, in fact, often maintained to enable sledding parties and not necessarily to promote commerce.[222] For tuberculosis patients, tobogganing offered an exciting diversion in the outdoors that required little physical exertion. The sport's appeal was noted as early as January 1873 in the *Davoser Fliegenden Blättern*, which depicted groups of guests sliding on toboggans.[223]

Tobogganing was even supported by local town organizations. Rather than leaving course preparation to individual locals, Davos' Verschönerungsverein (Beautification Association) actually maintained toboggan courses by using a petroleum barrel to pack down fresh snow.[224] Though this course had no name, its popularity among the German-speaking community was clear from the treatment the *Davoser Blätter* paid it. Typical of the *Blätter*'s tobogganing news was its first mention of tobogganing, which consisted of only a few sentences, informing the community about the toboggan course's maintenance.[225] The article's lack of specificity about the location or length of the course, suggested that there was just one well-known course, which was likely the road between Davos and Klosters, on which sleds and carriages regularly traveled, packing down the snow in the process.[226] When the course needed widening in 1875, the local Health Association (Kurverein) widened it.[227]

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219 *Davos Courier*, February 29, 1896.
220 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 107.
221 Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 159.
222 Bernard, *Rush to the Alps*, 54-55.
223 *Davoser Fliegenden Blätter*, no. 9 (1873).
224 *Davoser Blätter*, December 10, 1874.
225 *Davoser Blätter*, December 10, 1874.
226 An article in the *Davoser Courier* from January 31, 1891, mentions the Kurverein roller on this road. The roller is used to compensate for usual traffic that stamped down the snow on the road. Although unmentioned, it is clear that the railroad extension to Davos, completed in 1890, has had a significant impact on the winter road traffic.
227 *Davoser Blätter*, November 26, 1875.

The fact that tobogganing essentially required no skill and only a snow-covered slope on which to practice meant that the sport was accessible to healthy and sick alike.[228] As one English writer put it, "Davos was made for the invalids—and tobogganing was made for the invalids," because it allowed them to "gain pleasure and health at the same time."[229] As a result, tobogganing transformed Davos into one large recreational space. The pages of the *Davoser Blätter* in the later half of the 1870s were filled with references to tobogganing and the accidents that frequently occurred as guests coasted down streets, often colliding with local carriages or passersby.[230] Unlike ice skating, which could only take place in a fixed location on a rink that had been cleared of snow, tobogganing was a ready amusement that could be conducted anywhere. As most hotels were perched on Davos' hillsides, guests needed only to step out the front door to have fun on their sleds. The hills below the Belvedere and Buol hotels were, naturally popular runs used by British guests while patrons at the Strela Hotel as well as local children often delighted in sliding down the path from the hotel to the main street, much to the frustration of carriage drivers and writers at the *Davoser Blätter*.[231]

Steered and stopped by a rider's feet in the early days, toboggans were hardly easy to control, which meant they were frequently involved in accidents. Riders risked injuring themselves by ramming into buildings or being crushed by carriages. Even if tobogganers avoided both carriages and local edifices, they still required vigilance to avoid the numerous pedestrians.[232] In *Davos im Schnee*, V.H. Vormann warned that guests walking uphill to the Belvedere and Buol hotels did so at their own peril due to the speed with which tobogganers descended the hills.[233] By the winter of 1878, mounting accidents and near accidents caused the village to require that all horses be equipped with bells in order to warn tobogganers of their approach.[234] Around this time, the Kurverein also enacted a fine, from two to ten francs, for people riding their toboggans below the Buol and Belvedere hotels. Unable to deter people from tobogganing on busy streets, the Kurverein attempted a new solution by creating a toboggan course below Johannes Coester's Kurhaus. The new course was noted for providing ample room for tobogganers both to walk up and sled down, though it failed to attract British guests who stuck to their tracks near the Buol hotel.[235] The fact that Davos' streets became battlegrounds among tobogganers, pedestrians, and carriage drivers no doubt provided headaches for Kurverein officials. At the same time, such activity combated the notions that the remote village was nothing more than a large sanatorium of withering invalids.

To many Davos guests, the toboggan was appealing because it represented freedom from the predictability of Davos life. Most guests experienced this independence by whisking down

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[228] Tobogganing was the antithesis of sports such as soccer, which had rule books and jargon. Eisenberg, "*English Sports" und Deutsche Bürger*,179.
[229] *Davos Courier*, November 8, 1888.
[230] See *Davoser Blätter*, November 26, 1875; November 17, 1876; December 8, 1877; March 2, 1878. Local sledges were no better at avoiding people even without toboggans hurtling at them. For complaints see *Davoser Blätter*, February 1, 1879.
[231] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 97 and *Davoser Blätter*, March 2, 1878, November 9, 1878.
[232] Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 162, and *Davoser Blätter*, November 9, 1878.
[233] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 97.
[234] *Davoser Blätter*, November 23, 1878.
[235] Ferdmann*, Aufstieg von Davos*, 160.

local roads leading to the neighboring towns of Klosters, Wiesen, and Glaris.[236] These standard courses were not the only options for tobogganers. The toboggan could allow a person to venture much further from their winter home.

In January 1875, the *Davoser Blätter* initiated what became a six-week series of articles chronicling a roundtrip tobogganing adventure from Davos to St. Moritz. Like any good adventure story, the guests, prior to their journey, consulted the knowledgeable mountain men about winter mountain traveling. One man warned the duo that they were foolish to consider such a trek because they could encounter extreme cold, avalanches, or the possibility of being snowed-in in a strange mountain village.[237] Disregarding the warnings, the men, instead, chose to believe another man's advice that the passes would be fine. Convinced of their safety, the adventurers headed out of town, hitched to a horse. The ensuing adventure chronicled encounters with Romansh-speaking peasants, discoveries of awe-inspiring glaciers, and journeys through unrelenting snow storms in addition to the sampling of Veltlin wines in snow-bound towns and the crossing of mortally dangerous avalanche zones, which, the authors pointed out, claimed a postman's life not long after their safe crossing.[238] In what could be a very regimented, redundant world for tuberculosis patients, this story offered adventure and escape from the daily torpor. Aware of this fact, the article's authors recollected in one installment an episode in which the men were enshrouded in a parting fog, gazing upon the stunning landscape surrounding St. Moritz. Although the adventurers could hardly believe their eyes, they could not help themselves from pondering what a boring time the people in Davos were having as they either sat on their verandas or walked to the pharmacy.[239] For those bored by the quotidian of Davos life, the toboggan must have appeared like a tender, allowing one to escape the restricted confines of a ship for the excitement of land. No doubt these types of stories also appealed to the middle-class professionals who were accustomed to the boring predictability of urban living.

Tobogganing not only allowed a person a means to physical adventure; it also promoted social adventure among men and women who sought less formal settings in which to interact. These relaxed social environments evidenced themselves most in toboggan or trailing parties, which were long, snaking processions of toboggans that were connected by rope to a horse, which pulled the revelers through town and up hills, from which they descended. The toboggan party was an often-documented event that guests adopted from locals. According to one report, the young adults of Davos connected sixteen toboggans for a journey down to Wolfgang, a neighboring town, where they danced and drank through the night.[240] Not to be left out, the younger children imitated the older ones with their own processions. Rather than using horses, the smaller kids attached harnesses and bells to the burliest boys, who pulled their peers and even a concertina-playing musician through town.[241] By 1878, the British were capturing the attention of the German press for their own toboggan processions between the Hotel Buol and Wolfgang.[242] The German press noted that young Englanders were forsaking ice skating for tobogganing. On one particular outing to Klosters, up to eighty English guests, both tobogganers

[236] *Davoser Blätter*, January 30, 1875 and December 10, 1875.
[237] *Davoser Blätter*, January 30, 1875.
[238] *Davoser Blätter*, Jan 30, February 6, February 27, and March 13, 1875.
[239] *Davoser Blätter*, February 20, 1875.
[240] *Davoser Blätter*, January 23, 1875
[241] *Davoser Blätter*, January 21, 1882.
[242] *Davoser Blätter*, December 28, 1878.

and spectators, were seen at the departure point in Laret.[243] By the late 1880s, an English tobogganing party had become a two-day event, beginning the night before the toboggan procession with a dance that lasted later than a watchful doctor would have advised. The following day, the party glided down to Klosters, where the revelers strolled through town or hiked back up the course. With the aid of a box sleigh the participants returned to Davos.[244]

Tobogganing offered not only an escape from the more formal settings of the dining room, library, and verandas, but it also presented a reprieve from the formal interactions between men and women. This "torpid existence of vacuity and idleness," described one British guest, was, ironically, a highly sexual environment that put men and women in close contact, so close, in fact, that "we cannot get away from each other even if we would."[245] Not only were men and women as close as they would be on a ship, but, according to one English commentator, they were also more open. The fact that so many people were sick melted the usual social mores, causing them to sympathize with each other. Guests, complained the writer, tended to act very childish, falling in and out of love and generally not practicing very good manners.[246] Tobogganing parties were an expression of this relaxed social atmosphere, providing couples time away from Davos and plentiful opportunity for acting on their attractions. Guests could enjoy each other's company within the toboggan party and then take their time returning to Davos by walking back, instead of taking the sleigh.[247] The excitement and social possibilities of the tobogganing party were too much for a doctor's disapproving gaze to discourage. Although they might shrink in shame, all the participants, somehow, "resolved to forget they had lungs for one day."[248]

During the first few winter seasons in Davos, tobogganing was, without a doubt, the most popular sport because it was a social activity that required little practice. Accustomed to sporting competitions, though, the English wasted little time before adding a new degree of intrigue to tobogganing by staging a race, an event that introduced the elements of daring and speed to tobogganing.[249] On January 12, 1882, Davos guests witnessed twenty-one men and three women from the Belvedere compete for the fastest time on the road to Klosters.[250] Organized by W. Hornblower, the race preserved many of the typical social aspects of a toboggan party as the racers and "a small army of visitors from Davos" reconvened for lunch at the Hotel Silvretta following the race.[251] The spirit of competition proved infectious, and only five days after the first race, the British guests of the Buol and Belvedere hotels squared off against each other.[252] Almost solely a British event, the race was covered in English in the "Eingesandt"

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[243] *Davoser Blätter*, January 21, 1882.
[244] *Davos Courier*, January 17, 1889.
[245] *Davos Courier*, February 23, 1889.
[246] *Davos Courier*, February 23, 1889.
[247] On the return trip from Klosters, two couples opted to walk back to Davos, taking an unusually long shortcut. *Davos Courier*, January 17, 1889.
[248] *Davos Courier*, January 17, 1889.
[249] For a description of the emergence and use of sport in public schools, see J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public Schools: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), chap. 2.
[250] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 98 and *Davoser Blätter*, January 14, 1882.
[251] Ibid., 98.
[252] Ibid., 99.

(correspondence) section of the *Davoser Blätter*. No mention of it appeared in the paper's German text.[253]

Tobogganing was a medium through which guests and locals found common ground. Although the toboggan races were originally a British-only phenomenon, by the second year, the races featured the inaugural International Toboggan Race. Organized by three British guests, the race was intended to stimulate interest in tobogganing among the Swiss.[254] Staged on the popular Klosters course, the race saw twenty-one competitors from seven nations. Most importantly for the organizers, twelve of the contestants were Swiss.[255] Fittingly, the race saw a tie for first between the Swiss postman from Klosters and an Australian guest.[256] A popular race, the International remained a feature of Davos up until World War I. Each year the race grew more popular as increasing numbers of spectators came to watch the growing field of competitors. In 1885, in fact, the race attracted eighty horse-drawn sleds,[257] and by 1888 the original number of contestants doubled to forty-two, half of which were Swiss from Davos and neighboring towns. The race maintained its international character, too, as the remaining twenty-one competitors were distributed as follows: eight British and Americans, five St. Moritz visitors (likely British), three German visitors to Davos, and five competitors from other nations.[258]

Though it began as a community pastime, the tobogganing became a sport associated with daring and masculinity. In 1888, American L.P. Child introduced a new sled to Davos. Child's "Clipper" sled was lower to the ground and equipped with metal spring runners.[259] The sled was also designed for headfirst riders. Child illustrated this technique in the 1888 races, during which he posted the best time by two seconds.[260] In the highly charged nationalist environment of Davos, though, Child's "Clipper" sled became known as the "America."[261]

Child's victory caused considerable controversy in Davos because it challenged the purpose of the tobogganing. The toboggan, as noted earlier, was a simple machine ridden in a sitting position. In this way, the toboggan was a close relative of the harmless sleigh that delivered guests to Davos. For the sick, therefore, the toboggan raised little concern. The "America," on the other hand was declared unsuitable for invalids because it was designed for speed. The *Courier* reminded its readers that nearly all of the big race winners had been in Davos "solely for the benefit of their health."[262] Tobogganing, the paper argued, "was almost [an invalid's] only sport and their most popular, health-giving amusement."[263] The headfirst sled was dangerous for invalids and threatened to dissolve any interest in tobogganing among tuberculosis patients. Unable to ride the faster "America" sleds, the sick, according the *Courier*, would inevitably lose every competition and consequently abandon the sport of tobogganing.[264]

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253 *Davoser Blätter*, January 14, 1882.
254 *Davos Courier*, February 25, 1893.
255 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 100.
256 *Davos Courier*, January 31, 1891.
257 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 101.
258 *Davos Courier*, January 3, 1889.
259 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 107.
260 *Davos Courier*, January 31, 1891.
261 For this reference, see *Davos Courier*, December 7, 1889.
262 *Davos Courier*, November 8, 1888.
263 *Davos Courier*, November 8, 1888.
264 *Davos Courier*, November 8, 1888.

The new sled not only threatened to exclude invalids from the race course, but it also promised to cause tensions between the British guests and Swiss hosts, who were uninterested in the new, sleek sled. To avoid this developing problem, race organizers, in spring 1889, decided to hold two races, one only for Swiss sleds and the other for any type of sled. The Swiss–sled competitors staged their race on the Klosters road for the Symonds Cup while the America-friendly race took place on another run, the Buol. The winner of this race received the Symonds Shield.[265]

The division of the International into two races fostered the creation of a new, more dangerous form of tobogganing on the Buol Run, which marked the winter hills as symbols of speed. Originally a footpath, the Buol run had been initially popular among the British guests in the 1870s.[266] In its early days, the run was merely one of the many trails and paths that existed in Davos. Beginning in 1881, what was a recreational trail began to assume the appearance of a racecourse as banked corners were created to preserve a toboggan's speed.[267] That same year, John Addington Symonds organized a small race.[268] The upswing of guests in Davos during the 1880s meant there were a lot of toboggans that wore holes in the existing tracks. To cover the resulting holes, laborers mixed snow and water, creating ice patches.[269] Course maintenance required considerable labor to carry out such projects. By 1885, the Kurverein stepped in, agreeing to build a toboggan run for guests. On their own initiative, a group of British guests from the Buol and Belvedere hotels, led by Harold Freeman, formed the Buol Tobogganing Club and took over the project from the Kurverein.[270] Through the Buol Club's work, the Buol Run assumed the shape and design that one associates with modern-day luge and bobsled tracks with its large embankments to keep toboggans from rocketing off the course.[271] The cost-prohibitive labor required to maintain the course encouraged club members during the 1888-89 winter to ice the entire course, thus protecting against the wear and tear from metal runners. This cost-saving measure, though, created a venue for speed that allowed guests to travel at up to 60 mph. Snow, which had originally been a tobogganer's ally, quickly became its foe as it covered up the fast ice, often bonding with it and ruining the smooth surface.[272]

Men were not the only ones who enjoyed the shocking speed of sledding. In 1890, the Buol Run, in fact, served as the venue for the Ladies and Gentlemen Toboggan Race.[273] Hardly afraid of riding head first, women were noticed "going down, or shall we say attempting to go down, the run not in the upright—and comparatively—elegant position usually adopted by the fair sex."[274]

Unimaginable speed did have its drawbacks since the sledding sport, unlike ice skating, had no prescribed technique. The skill in tobogganing rested in the hands of the course designer,

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265 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 108.
266 *Davos Courier*, December 19, 1896.
267 *Davos Courier*, December 19, 1896.
268 Max Triet, "Davos als Zentrum," cited in Halter, Ernst ed., *Davos: Profil eines Phänomens* (Zürich: Offizin, 1994), 62.
269 *Davos Courier*, October 29, 1892.
270 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 105.
271 *Davos Courier*, December 19, 1896.
272 For a example of such a complaint, see *Davos Courier*, January 31, 1891.
273 *Davos Courier*, March 8, 1890.
274 *Davos Courier*, December 24, 1892.

who had to anticipate how to create tracks that satisfied the quest for speed without endangering the life of the tobogganer. Skating, on the other hand, hardly had such high stakes for participation. A fall or mishap on the ice rink might be prevented with better instruction. Accidents in tobogganing, however, were far more dire. As a result, multiple accidents encouraged guests to abandon tobogganing for ice skating.[275] In 1891, in fact, a new course for beginners was designed in reaction to the decline in tobogganing, particularly among women, over the previous years.[276]

The intrepid few who persisted at tobogganing provided a spectacle of amusement rather than a clinic of athletic prowess. With a certain degree of *Schadenfreude*, spectators gathered along the course to watch people spin out of control. Successful running was greeted with displeasure as guests grumbled that "no falls at all" was "not half as much sport" as a disastrous run.[277] Despite the verbiage regarding the course's danger, the Buol Run remained a feature of Davos until 1907, when the new Schatzalp course opened.[278] Throughout the 1890s, though, the safety of the Buol Run remained a concern. In 1898, in fact, the *Courier* noted that the speed and danger of tobogganing "cannot claim among its devotees any except the strong."[279] Since Davos was first and foremost a health resort, such comments suggested that there were only a handful of ice-run practitioners. Indeed, in 1898, it was noted that the safer Kloster's course was packed while the Buol run was virtually empty.[280]

The fact, though, that the Buol remained a feature of Davos' hillsides indicated the value of sports in British community. The sport allowed men to show of their daring and bravery. As a result, guests were willing to donate large sums of money to ensure tobogganing would take place in Davos, for the naturally good conditions on the safer Klosters road could not always be guaranteed.[281] To provide for the constant course maintenance, the club required an annual subscription in addition to staging various events in the hotels. As early as 1889, a course alteration resulted in an 800-franc debt.[282] Over the following two months, however, with the aid of the theater community in the Buol and Belvedere Hotels, the club raised just over 714 francs.[283] Such events supplemented the yearly subscription, which at the time stood at10 francs for the season.[284] When subscriptions and fundraisers were unable to raise the requisite money the following winter, the *Courier* suggested that spectators become honorary club members to prevent the club's dissolution.[285] The ensuing years were hardly easier for the club to finance. In 1890, prices for course preparation shot up after the extension of the railroad from Klosters to Davos.[286] With goods now delivered via the railroad, commercial traffic could not be relied upon to ensure the road's upkeep. As a result, the club added the Klosters road to its list of

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[275] *Davos Courier*, January 23, 1892
[276] *Davos Courier*, December 19, 1891.
[277] *Davos Courier*, February 6, 1892.
[278] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 111.
[279] *Davos Courier*, March 10, 1898.
[280] *Davos Courier*, March 10, 1898.
[281] *Davos Courier*, March 10, 1898.
[282] *Davos Courier*, December 7, 1889.
[283] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 106.
[284] *Davos Courier*, December 7, 1889.
[285] *Davos Courier*, November 1, 1890.
[286] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 40.

responsibilities by arranging for the course to be swept of burdensome snow. The club was not entirely responsible for the road's maintenance, though, as the Kurverein used its roller to pack the snow.[287] Despite the additional costs, the Klosters course was cheap to maintain compared to the Buol Run. It cost 111 francs to create the Klosters course in 1895, whereas the Buol Club, that year, paid 1000.70 francs in wages alone for the labor. In fact, the purchasing of materials such as canvas, which cost 124.45 francs, was more expensive than all the maintenance on the Kloster's course.[288]

The Buol track had never been easy to maintain. As early as 1890, the course required the labor of five men and an unspecified number of volunteers to create it. Without the aid of falling snow, "the amount of work in carting snow [was] almost incredible," complained one volunteer.[289] In addition to filling in thin spots on the course, the men, who were members of the Kurverein committee, also provided padded sacking at dangerous points to prevent injuries.[290] Mounting debt in 1896 caused one club member to suggest that the club discontinue the ice run in favor of applying money to the Klosters road. Far from the leisurely pastime that required only a snow-covered hill and a sled to enjoy, by 1896, the Buol course required six weeks to prepare.[291]

Tobogganing pervaded Davos society by the end of the 1890s. No longer simply an invalid's sport, by 1898 the club amended its constitution to make room for people who "know Davos for only a month at Christmas time," lowering the annual membership fees to 15 francs from 30.[292] Such happenings indicated that Davos was no longer the domain of long-term tuberculosis guests and their families, but instead an emerging destination sports resort for short-term tourists.

Norwegian Skis and Swiss Hillsides

The popularity of skating and tobogganing owed itself to the simplicity and sociability of each sport. This fact is clear in light of skiing's reception in Davos. Unlike the other sports practiced in Davos, skiing required a lot of skill and practice. Further complicating skiing's acceptance was the fact that it was not a traditional pastime of either local Davosers or their guests. It was in Norway that skiing first developed as a leisure activity and sport.[293] That skiing became popular in Davos was an indication of the community's sports inclination by the 1890s.

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[287] *Davos Courier*, January 31, 1891.
[288] *Davos Courier*, March 30, 1895.
[289] *Davos Courier*, November 15, 1890.
[290] *Davos Courier*, November 15, 1890.
[291] *Davos Courier*, December 19, 1896.
[292] *Davos Courier*, March 10, 1898.
[293] Skiing as a recreation started in Norway, but the first place where skis were used was in the Altai Mountains of western China. Allen, *The Culture and Sport of Skiing*, 23-24. Skiing continues in the Altai Mountains much as it has for nearly two thousand years. Men still create long, wooden skis to which they attach horsehair for traction when climbing up hills. The ski has been primarily used in hunting animals, which often become bogged down in deep snow and thus vulnerable to a skier swooping down from a hillside. The future of skiing is uncertain now, though, as the Chinese government recently passed a law forbidding hunting in the Altai. *Skiing in the Shadow of Genghis Khan: Timeless Skiers of the Altai*, DVD, directed by Nils Larsen (Free Heels Production, [2007?])

Skiing combined the ambulatory motion of ice skating with the lust for adventure and speed common among some tobogganers. In the process, skiing altered the recreational geography of Davos. No longer were recreational spaces limited to a track or an ice patch; on skis, one could go virtually anywhere.

That skiing took so long to become popular hinged more or less on the availability of equipment. Since skis did not become available for sale in Davos until the 1890s, there was really little chance for the sport to compete with ice skating and tobogganing.[294] Some guests overcame this setback by bringing skis with them, or having them shipped to Davos.[295] One of the first people to bring skis to Davos was local merchant Tobias Branger, who purchased his Norwegian skis in 1889 at Paris' World Exposition.[296] Once back in Davos, Tobias and his brother Johann began touring the local mountains, often traversing mountain passes into neighboring towns.[297]

No doubt the Branger brothers caught the attention of certain guests in Davos, but the brothers' exploits were likely unknown to many. It is likely that most guests learned about skiing from reading descriptions in the local press. In January 1891, the *Davos Blätter* reviewed Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen's book *The First Crossing of Greenland*, which heralded the ski as essential tool of polar exploration. In fact, Nansen dedicated a whole chapter just to discussing the ski and its many uses. So impressed was the book's reviewer with the Nansen's skiing descriptions that he suggested that skiing must become a major amusement in Davos. Seemingly unaware of the Branger brother's exploits, though, the author lamented that Davos had no ski teacher who could, among other things, instruct a person about the correct technique for attaching skis. Without these things, the author forecasted that skiing would remain unpopular.[298] Despite the pessimistic print in the *Blätter*, skiing continued to gain adherents. In fact, in 1893, the *Courier*, citing the increasing interest in skiing in Davos, reprinted an article from *The Field* that described skiing as a superior sport that required "great skill, pluck and determination, combined with physical strength."[299] The article commented further that skiing was "one of those accomplishments that calls every muscle into play, and at the same time may be so prettily done that it becomes the very poetry of motion."[300] From the article's descriptions, it was clear that skiing was hardly a sport fit for invalids. It was one for muscular Christians. At the same time, the ski was not a tool for pure amusement; it had a utility. In fact, Norwegians used the ski out of necessity to travel across winter's deep snows.[301]

Amidst all this enthusiasm for skiing, Tobias and his brother Johann convened a meeting of Davos locals in 1893 to discuss creating a skiing club. Key to forming the club, though, was promoting proper technique. Consequently, the top priority of the assembled men was to secure a

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[294] For the first ad for skis, which became a regular feature over the ensuing years, see *Davos Courier*, January 12, 1895.
[295] The famed German ski pioneer Wilhelm Paulcke skied in Davos as a young boy after his father had skis shipped from Norway. Ferdmann, *Aufstieg von Davos*, 165.
[296] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 114.
[297] Ibid.
[298] *Davoser Blätter*, January 10, 1891.
[299] "One of the World's Sports," *The Field* [May 1893?] reprinted in *The Davos Courier*, April 1, 1893.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid.

ski instructor. The ski enthusiasts recommended that the club should either hire a Norwegian ski instructor to come to Davos or that it should seek out a Norwegian guest or local Swiss educated in Norway to oversee the promotion of skiing. Unable to secure an instructor, the men abandoned the idea of forming a club.[302] The brothers' inability to form a club did not squelch their enthusiasm for promoting the sport. Rather than relying on a Norwegian to teach skiing, the brothers trained themselves, and, in 1894, led the author Arthur Conan Doyle over the Marienfeld Furka.[303] Doyle subsequently published his experiences in Britain, and the following winter Tobias and Johann counted some twenty skiers on the hills above Davos.[304] That same winter, Katherine Symonds became the first woman to ski in Davos.[305]

Despite its growing popularity, skiing remained a late-winter phenomenon, primarily practiced by men. It was a feature of Davos life, but not a focus as was tobogganing and skating. Throughout the 1890s, the tourist newspapers usually reserved mention of skiing for late February thru March. Like early references to tobogganing, references to skiing were typically short and often merely mentioned that skiing was taking place on the valley's meadows and slopes.[306] Occasionally the English press expressed sentiments such as the following: "it is a pity that snoeshoeing [*sic*] or 'Skiing' is not popular amongst the English in Davos."[307]

The disappointment in the lukewarm reception of skiing likely stemmed from the exciting accounts of sport, pageantry, and nationalism associated with Norwegian ski contests. In 1893, after all, the *Davos Courier* had reported on Norway's Holmenkollen competition, which that year had one hundred competitors and thousands of spectators. Far from brief, the race description provided copious details about the two-day event, beginning with the twelve-mile distance race. Essentially a cross-country race, the distance race required considerable stamina to succeed. The course began with a 400-foot climb up hill followed by a long stretch through the forest and across "clefts and ravines, hillocks and mounds."[308] The racers then descended 1,000 feet into a valley at times sliding down hills that were "almost perpendicular."[309] Following a second "toilsome crab-like ascent," the racers, ranging in age from eighteen to twenty-six, crossed the finish line. The second day's competition involved "one of the most exciting sports imaginable"—ski jumping. Spectators came by ski and sleigh. There were soldier regiments, "pretty girls in short dresses; men wearing the grey uniform of ski; children dressed like little Fins; ladies rolled up in furs; elder men in huge wolfskin coats; [and] students wearing university caps."[310] The competitors, divided into two groups of under-twenty and over-twenty, assembled wearing their numbers and medals, if they had won any. Each competitor then coasted down a 400-foot slope at a speed that was, "in consequence of the steepness, tremendous." Springing from the end of the in-run, the men swung their arms in circles to maintain their balance. On average, the contestants flew sixty feet, but only half of them landed the jump. If the spectacle of

[302] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 115.
[303] Triet, "Davos als Zentrum," 64.
[304] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 116.
[305] Ibid.
[306] *Davos Courier*, March 2, 1895; March 17, 1898.
[307] *Davos Courier*, December 16, 1897. For a similar reference see *Davos Courier*, February 13, 1897.
[308] *Davos Courier*, April 1, 1893.
[309] *Davos Courier*, April 1, 1893.
[310] Ibid.

the Holmenkollen were not enough, the writer advised that "Norway well repays a visit in winter, if merely for the pleasure of going on ski; and anyone who had tried it, will own it is one of the finest and healthiest of the world's sports."[311]

In light of the emerging competition on the ice rink and toboggan tracks, it is no wonder that such skiing descriptions appealed to Davos' visitors. Without a corps of accomplished skiers, though, Davos could not hope to hold a competition even remotely resembling the Holmenkollen. Developing talented skiers required time, something that many guests did not have, as they were staying for shorter periods of time by the 1890s. Whereas one could learn the rudiments of a technical sport such as ice skating in the urban areas of England and Germany, skiing was a sport that could only really be practiced in areas with abundant snow. To become proficient at the sport, as E.C. Richardson put it, one had to serve as an apprentice of sorts and have a fair bit of courage and bravery to be able to deal with the "jarless speed we have only experienced in high diving and sailing in smooth water."[312] With fewer guests marooned in Davos for the winter, the time for an apprenticeship was increasingly short, resulting in skiers of questionable skills.

Accounts of the limited abilities of Davos skiers were broadcast in the local papers. The description of a party of four men who attempted to reach a local peak was particularly revealing. Rather than aiding their progress up and down the mountain, the skis became encumbrances. The men complained that they were hard to use and often had to be carried in favor of going on foot. In one case, the men threw their skis down the hill rather than riding them. Sliding on their backs seemed safer.[313] Johann Branger and Herbert Aldridge were similarly daunted by their ski ascent of Scaletta Pass, a climb that Aldridge described as "beastly." So fatigued was Aldridge by the ascent that Branger had to carry his knapsack the last two hundred feet. Even the slide down the mountain side was unpleasant. The only satisfaction Aldridge gained from the experience was the "air of superiority that we receive [from] the expressions of wonder that fall from my companion's many friends whom, meeting on the road, he tells of our great exploits."[314]

In light of the sport's difficulty, skiing remained an activity of limited interest in Davos until the arrival of E. C. Richardson in 1901-2. Educated at Harrow, one of the sports-crazed British public schools, Richardson, in 1894, began spending his Easter holidays in Norway and Sweden, where he learned to ski jump and cross-country ski.[315] Arriving in Davos with his brother, Richardson proclaimed Davos the "ski-er's paradise."[316] According to Richardson, Davos had a reliably cold, snowy climate, when compared to Christiana (Oslo), where snowfall was not always certain.[317]

With a Norwegian-trained skier in residence, skiing could finally progress in Davos. During the 1903-4 winter, the English skiers founded the Davos Ski Club with the help of J. and E. Wroughton.[318] The club established ski tests for club membership as well as outlined its goals,

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[311] Ibid.
[312] *Davos Courier*, March 7, 1902.
[313] *Davos Courier*, March 23, 1895.
[314] *Davos Courier*, March 6, 1897.
[315] Ring, *How the English*, 176.
[316] *Davos Courier*, March 7, 1902.
[317] Ibid.
[318] Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 118-119.

which included organizing ski tours and races in addition to building ski jumps and importing skis from Norway and to provide them to club members at good prices.[319]

The attraction to skiing was much as it was to tobogganing. It appealed to the tenets of muscular Christianity that valued activities that promoted bravery and strength, aspects that were key to preserving the British Empire. On skis the practitioner displayed his bravery by risking serious injury as he descended hills and navigated obstacles. Skiing also offered a sense of territorial conquest as skiers had the freedom to range over vast amounts of terrain that could not be crossed on foot. "Unlike the tobogganer and the skater," wrote Richardson, the skier "is chained to no special rink or run, but is free to choose his own path across the vast tracts of unbroken snow."[320] Such descriptions appealed to a number of Davos' guests and by 1905 there were an estimated 100 skiers in Davos.[321] Though Richardson was credited for growing interest in skiing, by his own admission, skiing before WWI was minimal due to the reluctance of guests to apply themselves to learning the proper technique.[322]

The limited interest did not prevent skiing from becoming a competitive sport. Not long after the founding of the second Davos Ski Club, which was composed of local Davosers, the two clubs squared off in a twelve-kilometer cross-country race.[323] Only four Swiss and three English guests participated in the race.[324] As Davos youth dedicated themselves to learning to ski, practicing all winter, the English guests watched a chasm of talent slowly separate them from their winter neighbors. As a result of the increasing dominance of Davos boys, ski races, beginning in 1907, were arranged by the Swiss Davos Ski Club.[325]

By 1905, the prominence of Davos' recreation facilities was such that *Verkehr und Sport*, the *Deutsche Alpen-Zeitung*'s tourist supplement, hailed the Swiss village as the world's most famous winter resort, the virtual center for ice-skating competitions, tobogganing, and skiing.[326] Davos was no longer just a health resort for tuberculosis sufferers. During the following five years, Austrian, German, and Swiss mountain towns began to sell themselves as winter health and recreation resorts.[327] All of these developments were put in motion because of the incurability of tuberculosis, which caused both doctors and their patients to try any and all possible remedies, including visits to snow-covered alpine towns. The incurable boredom of months spent in a Swiss village trying to regain one's health encouraged many guests and their accompanying family members to indulge in any diversion, even ice skating and tobogganing.

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319 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 119.
320 *Davos Courier*, March 7, 1902.
321 *Engadin Express and Alpine Post*, January 7 1904.
322 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 122-23. For plaudits about Richardson, see *Engadin Express and Alpine Post*, March 11, 1905.
323 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 120.
324 *Engadin Express and Alpine Post*, February 21, 1903.
325 Schmid, "Davos-Platz," 121 (re-check)
326 "Der Herbst- und Winteraufenthalt in Davos," *Verkehr und Sport*, vol. 1, no. 11, (1905): 193.
327 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 81, 92, describes advertisements for winter sports centers in Germany around 1908 as well as the growth of such places in Switzerland. Moritz Band, "Wintersport und Volkswohlfahrt," *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*, February 13, 1910, argues that Austrians should stimulate their economy by creating competition for winter resorts like Davos and St. Moritz. Railroads and local businesses will benefit from such investments, argues Band.

When British guests arrived, they embraced sports as a primary diversion just as they were already doing in health resorts along the Riviera.[328] Hotel owners who sought to attract more British guests helped build skating rinks and generally supported British guests' battles for recreation spaces. The pro-sport English added new elements of competition to these activities, thus promoting various refinements in each. Just as sports were becoming more popular in Davos, the town itself became infinitely easier to reach, thanks to the railroad's extension from Klosters. With trains came the short-term sports guests who enjoyed the activities of skating and tobogganing, but who had little time to master new and more demanding sports such as skiing. As they had in summer resort towns, Germans began to copy English sporting habits, eventually outnumbering the English and causing a proliferation of the winter resort in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland.

[328] Nash, "The Rise and Fall," 69-70.

Chapter Two
Somewhere Between Switzerland and Norway:
The Tyrol and the Making of the Austrian Ski Resort

In 1935, the Prince of Wales visited Kitzbühel, Austria, for a ski vacation.[1] The visit was celebrated in many ways for putting Kitzbühel on the map. For English speakers who thought mainly of Switzerland when they imagined an alpine ski vacation, the prince's visit was something new and exciting. Kitzbühel, though, was hardly a place to be discovered by 1935. Germans had been pouring into the area for years. During the 1931-32 winter, in fact, the town welcomed 11,400 guests who stayed a total of 100,000 nights.[2] During 1932, in fact, over 328,000 Germans visited the Tyrol compared to only 8,000 Britons.[3] The prince's visit was merely official recognition of an obvious trend in which Austrian ski resorts supplanted Swiss winter resorts as the most popular winter destination. Part of the explanation for the rise of Austrian ski resorts lies in simple imitation—the Austrian middle class saw what was happening in Switzerland and realized there was money in recreation tourism. The social and economic effects of WWI, however, explain much more about why Austria became a leader in the ski industry. The war not only created thousands of skiing soldiers in Austria whose equipment and expertise were eventually spread among the public. More importantly, it presented a means of not only constructing the new Austrian nation-state but also reconstructing the German *Volk*. For countries that had been reduced in size and power, skiing offered the middle and upper classes an escape from the carnage and suffering of the cities. In the snow-draped mountains, a seemingly pristine environment, people could strengthen their bodies and interact with peasants who offered a glimpse into an essential Germaness. As a result, the Austrian alpine peasant transformed into the professional ski instructor, who by the early 1930s were not only charged with teaching Austrians the official technique, they were also tasked with teaching Swiss ski instructors the Austrian method as well.

The South Tyrol and the Development of Health Resorts

For English tourists during the nineteenth century, the Austrian Alps were nothing more than functional buttress to the beautiful cathedrals of the Swiss Alps. In fact, guidebooks initially featured the Tyrol primarily as an addendum to travel descriptions about southern Germany or Switzerland. Beginning in 1837, John Murray featured descriptions of the Dolomites and South Tyrol in his *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*.[4] At the time, South Tyrolean towns such as Meran, Arco, and Gries were beginning to attract health tourists because of their mild climates.[5] Karl Baedeker, the German guidebook firm, did not publish a comparable guide until 1863 when it issued the first English edition of its Switzerland guidebook entitled

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1 "Festschrift der Skischule Kitzbühel." Supplement to *Kitzbühler Anzeiger*, 27 February 1954, 7

2 Michael Forscher, *Zu Gast im Herzen der Alpen: Eine Bildgeschichte des Tourismus in Tirol* (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, 1989), 242.

3 Richard Schober, *Tirol zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen: Die Wirtschaft*, vol. 1 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 2005), 285.

4 Josef Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang der Habsburgermonarchie (1848-1918)*, vol. 3, *Geschichte des Landes Tirol*, Josef Fontana et al. (Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1987), 177.

5 Adolf Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr in Tirol: Die Geschichte einer Organization* (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1989), 15.

Switzerland with the Neighboring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Tyrol. The placement of the Tyrol at the end of the title was appropriate since the book only featured a four-page section that discussed the far western reaches of the Tyrol, encompassing the triangular region between Nauders, Landeck, and St. Anton.[6]

Improvements in transportation ushered in a new era of tourism for the Tyrol. In 1858, a line between Kufstein and Innsbruck was completed and by 1867 there was a railroad from Innsbruck over the Brenner Pass to Bozen.[7] With the railroad, travelers from north of the Alps no longer had to endure the cramped, two-day carriage rides from Innsbruck to Bozen.[8] Instead, by train, travelers only had to allot from 5 ½ to 6 ½ hours to reach the town.[9] Perhaps as a response to the new ease of travel in the Tyrol, Baedeker in 1868 published *Southern Germany and the Austrian Empire*, its first English guide to the area.[10] By the mid 1870s, John Murray had added Austria to the main title of its *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*.[11] In 1879, however, Baedeker divided its southern Germany guidebook into two separate volumes, one of which was dedicated to the Austrian and German Alps and was carefully titled *The Eastern Alps*, thus obscuring the imperial divisions within the mountain chain.[12]

Although Baedeker devoted a whole volume to the Austrian Alps, the book offered very little information about Tyrolean culture. Castles, churches, museums, and scenery were the book's focus. Interactions with people were secondary. As with all of the Baedeker guides, the firm intended its volume to liberate tourists from interactions with innkeepers and mountain guides and thus to help them "more thoroughly . . . enjoy the magnificent scenery of one of the most interesting regions in Europe."[13] Baedeker emphasized that the pedestrian was "in almost every respect in the most favourable position for the enjoyment of beautiful scenery."[14] To this end, the book, in the firm's characteristic pithy style, outlined seventy-five different journeys for tourists to take. Curiously, though, Baedeker paid virtually no attention to the mountain's

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6 Karl Baedeker, *Switzerland with the Neighboring Lakes of Northern Italy, Savoy, and the Adjacent Districts of Piedmont, Lombardy, and the Tyrol* (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1863), 401-5.
7 Lässer, *100 Jahre*, 14-15.
8 T. von Tschirschky, *Meran: Zur orientirung über Klima, Reise, und Aufenthalt*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Verlag von Alexander Duncker, 1867), 24
9 K[arl] Baedeker, *Southern Germany and the Austrian Empire: Handbook for Travellers* (Coblenz: Karl Baedeker, 1868), 292.
10 Ibid.
11 The twelfth edition of Murray's *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany* was published in 1873 and did not include mention of Austria in the main title. In 1879, the fourteenth edition was published as *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany and Austria*.
12 Karl Baedeker, *The Eastern Alps, Including the Bavarian Highlands, the Tyrol, Salzkammergut, Styria, and Carinthia*, 4th ed. (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1879), [v].
13 Baedeker, *Eastern Alps*, 4th ed., [v]. For more about Baedeker's emphasis on efficient travel, see Rudy Koshar, "'What Ought to Be Seen': Tourists' Guidebooks and National Identities in Modern Germany and Europe," *Journal of Contemporary History* 33, no. 3 (July 1998): 330-31.
14 Baedeker, *The Eastern Alps*, 4th ed., xxi.

inhabitants whom walking tourists would inevitably encounter as they wandered among the mountain valleys and toured cathedrals, castles, and ruins.

Whereas Baedeker left to the reader's imagination any ideas of the cultural and social customs of the Tyroleans, John Murray introduced tourists to Austrian alpine culture, which, the firm claimed, was shaped by the natural surroundings. In its "Sketch of the Tyrol and Its Inhabitants," the Murray firm noted that the Tyrol's scenery paled in comparison to the Swiss Alps but that Tyroleans compensated for their disappointing vistas with their wholesome way of life. Unlike their bourgeois Swiss counterparts, Tyroleans lacked a sense of avarice. In the Tyrol's mountain valleys, travelers encountered "laborious perseverance without discontent" instead of blatant greed.[15] Murray described the Tyroleans as tough, religious people who managed to scrape out an existence in a landscape in which only 1/6 of the surface area was arable and the remainder was either pasturage or "barren rocks, snow, and ice."[16] According to Murray, the Tyrol's treacherous geography fostered a particular reverence for the power of god. This religious devotion manifested itself on roads throughout the Tyrol where visitors encountered numerous crucifixes and *Märtyrle*, wooden boxes that either contained crosses or images of saints or the Virgin Mary that were intended to mark the sites where Tyroleans had perished. Murray translated this reverence for a higher power into a respect for secular authority. A Tyrolean never balked when ordered to serve the Emperor and to "defend his own fatherland."[17] With their skill as marksmen, Tyroleans even managed successful military victories over invading Bavarian and French forces.[18] Despite serving the Emperor, they still maintained a degree of political freedom in their "great natural rock fortress" as their parliament, unlike those throughout the Austrian Empire, admitted peasant delegates.[19] In Murray's description, Tyroleans were the best of all worlds. They were religious conservatives who respected aristocratic privilege while also being liberal democrats who sought a voice for everyone.

Murray's appreciation for Tyrolean customs was unusual. Not even German-language travel guides acknowledged the social customs of the local inhabitants. Eduard Amthor's *Führer durch Tirol, das Bayerische Hochland, Salzburg u. Vorarlberg* was very similar to Baedeker's guides, which focused on natural scenery and sightseeing.[20] Other writers such as Heinrich Noë publicized the Tyrol in both English and German, but his books, too, mainly focused on sightseeing.[21]

On the whole, guidebooks made the Tyrol seem like a museum that people passed through but left no imprint. In the South Tyrol, though, tourism had a large impact on communities. As noted earlier, officials in Meran began in the 1830s to promote the town as a

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[15] John Murray, *A Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany and Austria*, 14th ed. (London: John Murray, 1879), 272-73, quote 273.
[16] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*, (1879), 272-73.
[17] Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*, (1879), 273.
[18] Ibid., 290-91.
[19] Ibid., 272-73, quote 272.
[20] For example, see Eduard Amthor, *Führer durch Tirol, Das Bayerische Hochland, Salzburg u. Vorarlberg* (Leipzig: Amthor'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1893).
[21] Johann Angerer, a contemporary of Noë, makes this complaint in *Vergleichende Betrachtungen über den Fremdenverkehr in Tirol und der Schweiz*, part 1, (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1899), 26.

health resort. To develop such a destination, though, Meran had to appeal to the prevailing notions about natural healing that were becoming common in medical circles. Already by the eighteenth century, doctors had begun to study mineral waters to determine what exact effects they had on the body. Such studies influenced treatment regimens in notable spas such as Karlsbad, where doctors eschewed unregulated consumption of mineral waters for strict diets and prescribed exercise.[22] In Meran, the need for regulation and oversight manifested itself in 1836 when J. V. Haller, the town's mayor, joined with Dr. Josef Pricher in establishing a Health Commission (*Kurcommission*). The exact purview of this organization is unclear, but it is easy to imagine that it was intended to provide travelers with some peace of mind that the health facilities were managed.

Since the resort was located in the Hapsburg Empire, gaining legitimacy with the Imperial medical establishment was also crucial. Fortunately for Haller and Pricher, at the time medical power within the Empire rested with the Vienna Medical School, an organization that was amenable to natural healing methods. In fact, the school's chief physician issued the journal *Medecinische Jahrbücher des k.k. österreichischen Staates*, a publication which often linked climate to diseases in certain locals.[23] In 1837, Johann Huber, the personal doctor for the Princess of Schwarzenberg, addressed these issues with regard to Meran when he published *Über die Stadt Meran in Tirol*.[24] Huber's 45-page treatise, which he published in Vienna, carefully explained Meran's unique, healthy climate. Following a short introduction to the Meran's physical surroundings, Huber presented a detailed study of five years of climactic observations that illustrated that the town's winters were warmer than those in the larger cities of Vienna, Innsbruck, and even Trentino, a town which was actually lower in elevation than Meran.[25] Huber recognized that potential visitors might question why they should stay in Meran if they could simply go a little further south to warmer Italian cities. As a response to this critique, Huber noted that Meran "did not lie far from the fatherland" and that it was German in its customs and culture.[26] As an indication of the area's healthy climate, Huber analyzed fifteen years of medical statistics, outlining the prevailing ailments of local inhabitants. Gout topped the list with thirteen annual cases. Tuberculosis tied for third with seven incidences annually, a statistic that Huber pointed out was notably low.[27] Huber usually blamed the customs of the area's inhabitants, not their climate for the occurrence of disease. For instance, Huber attributed the high incidence of strokes among women to their headdresses, which caused the vasculature in their heads to become too relaxed. The climate itself was healthy, and Huber claimed that the thin mountain air would help not only people with breathing problems but that it would also ease the suffering of

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[22] Jill Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture: 1860-1914," in *New Directions in Urban History: Aspects of European Art, Health, Tourism and Leisure Since the Englightenment*, ed. Peter Borsay, Gunther Hirschfelder, and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (Münster: Waxmann, 2000), 92.
[23] Steward, "The Spa Towns of the Autro-Hungarian Empire and the Growth of Tourist Culture," 93.
[24] For information on Huber's background, see Fontana, *Vom Neubau*, 44.
[25] Johann Nepomuk Huber, *Über die Stadt Meran in Tirol, ihre Umbegung und ihr Klima* (Vienna: Strauß, 1837), 16-19.
[26] Ibid., 22.
[27] Ibid., 25-26.

those with weak nerves and other exhausting illnesses.[28] In addition to the healthy air, Meran also had abundant quantities of milk, which a person could enjoy in the spring and summer. Huber pointed out that toddlers grew strong on their mother's milk and, therefore, the sick would also benefit from the healthy liquid.[29] In the fall, guests would have access to an abundance of grapes, which Huber claimed would help relieve constipation among other ailments.[30]

Huber's publication was followed by others that introduced outsiders to the history and German culture of Meran. In 1845, Beda Weber, a Benedictine professor and *Gymnasium* teacher in Meran, published *Meran und seine Umgebung*, a volume that addressed not only the area's history but also its contemporary landscape and inhabitants. Although not a travel guide outright, Weber's book, nevertheless, addressed the interests of tourists. For example, Weber dedicated a few pages to introducing potential visitors to the town's accommodations, which he admitted were very plain but sufficient for guests' basic needs. The town, like its inns, was a humble place that offered none of the excitement of the more reputable baths and spa towns. As Weber noted, guests could only expect what "our sky, our air, our land, and our people can offer."[31] Although Meran might be quite boring on rainy days when visitors had to stay indoors, Weber maintained that the town was still attractive to health tourists because it had a number of doctors who could attend to their needs as well as administer the milk and grape cures.[32] Despite its limited entertainment and accommodation options, the town continued to grow as a tourist destination. In 1842, Meran counted 1,237 visitors and by the end of 1844 this number had climbed to 1,434.[33] The following year the travel writer Ludwig Steub included a whole chapter on Meran in his book about the Tyrol and Vorarlberg entitled *Drei Sommer in Tirol*. Steub not only discussed many of the sights visitors would likely see in Meran, but he also commented on the valley's customs among other things. For example, Steub wrote that women from Meran had the most mellifluous voices. Their German was far better sounding than the typical, hard dialects of most Tyroleans. Only Germans, themselves, sounded more melodious.[34] Although Meran was physically oriented toward the kingdoms and city-states of Italy, the people—the *Volk*—were German. Meran, thus, was part of an inchoate German state.

Romantic depictions of Meran certainly attracted attention to the town. Visits by European aristocrats and royalty likely did the same. Among the first to visit Meran was King Wilhelm of Württemberg, who toured the village in 1845. The following year King Leopold of Belgium came to experience Meran's alluring climate. And in 1847, on the eve of the great nationalist revolutions that would shake Prussia and the German world, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia toured the streets of Meran.[35] These visits, no doubt, helped publicize Meran throughout central Europe. A telling statistic was the number of visitors who came to Meran

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[28] Ibid., 29.
[29] Ibid., 30, 34.
[30] Ibid., 35.
[31] Beda Weber, *Meran und seine Umgebung. Oder: Das Burggrafenamt von Tirol* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Buchhandlung, 1845), 80.
[32] Ibid., 79-80.
[33] Weber, *Meran und seine Umgebung*, 78.
[34] Ludwig Steub, *Drei Sommer in Tirol* (Munich: Verlag der literarisch-artistischen Anstalt, 1846), 317.
[35] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 44.

nearly a decade later in 1859. Of the 622 visitors that year, 174 were from Prussia, a number that was only second to Austrian visitors, who numbered 230.[36]

Attracting more visitors also meant expanding the accommodations and attractions in Meran. To meet these needs, in 1850 Mayor Haller and two doctors, Franz Tappeiner and Gottlieb Putz, created a Health Committee (*Kurcommittee*), which levied a health tax that it used to build a winter promenade featuring walking paths and benches. Five years later, this same group transformed the Health Committee into a larger organization called the *Kurvorstehung Meran*, which became a model for health resorts throughout the Empire.[37] That same year Meran also began offering regular concerts for guests.[38] Town officials continued to improve the town with the belief that the creation of the railroad over the Brenner Pass would usher in a new era for Meran.[39]

The growing interest in Meran as a health and sight-seeing destination coincided with general growth of health tourism during the second half of the nineteenth century. The limits of medical science allowed for the flourishing of health resorts of all kinds. In Gräfenberg in Austrian Silesia, a peasant named Victor Priessnitz attracted attention with a health regimen that he developed while recovering from a chest injury. Priessnitz prescribed fresh air and frequent sweating and bathing. Patients were also restricted from imbibing coffee or tea and had to refrain from reading, writing, or involving themselves in any intellectual thought. Priessnitz's patients experienced success with his prescriptions, helping him attract a notable clientele and even some disciples such as Wilhelm Winternitz, a Professor of Clinical Medicine at the Vienna Medical School. In 1865, Winternitz opened a similar treatment facility in Kaltenleutgeben on the outskirts of Vienna.[40]

In many ways, Meran was just one of the hundreds of health resorts among which Europeans could choose. Numerous places had healthy baths and climates or at least claimed to have them. The task of verifying the salubrious qualities of any one location often fell to the guests, themselves, who spent months and, sometimes, years in one location. T. von Tschirschky was one of these guests. After spending ten winters in Meran, von Tschirschky published in 1861 a scientific study and tour guide of Meran entitled *Meran: Zur Orientirung über Klima, Reise, und Aufenthalt*. Tschirschky was a clear advocate for Meran, but he was not a booster who ignored all facts. For example, Tschirschky pointed out that Meran was not as warm as visitors were led to believe. Nights in Meran could be cold and guests might have to deal with snow for up to a couple weeks at a time.[41] Nevertheless, cold days in Meran usually translated into even colder temperatures further north. For example, von Tschirschky pointed out that in February 1866, the temperature in Meran was a chilly 25 ˚F while it was -7 ˚F in Berlin and -12 ˚F in Hamburg.[42] Among German cities, Meran was clearly the least worst option.

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 15; Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 44.
[38] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 44.
[39] For an example of excitement about the railroad, see Dr. Helfft, "Ueber Meran und Venedig als Winteraufenthaltsorte für Kranke und die klimatischen Kurorte im Allgemeinen," *Berliner Klinische Wochenschrift* 1, no. 8 (February 15, 1864), 84.
[40] Steward, "The Spa Towns," 96.
[41] von Tschirschky, *Meran*, 4.
[42] Ibid., 6. Von Tschirschky provides the temperatures in Reaumur.

Despite the publications of von Tschirschky and others, popular guidebooks during this time provided little idea of Meran's popularity as a health destination. The 1868 edition of Baedeker's *Southern Germany and the Austrian Empire*, for example, offered only a brief description of Meran, noting its mild climate and popularity with people "suffering from pulmonary complaints."[43] A Murray guide for 1879 offered little additional information, noting only that area was "frequented for the sake of its mild winter climate and beautiful station by invalids."[44] The area's appeal to the sick had little appeal to the Murray firm, which devoted most of its entry about Meran to describing the castles and large estates in the area.

Developing a Tyrolean Tourism Industry

Although guidebooks found Meran to be only moderately interesting, for bourgeois residents in the South Tyrol, the town offered a new vision of the region's economic future. Before the 1880s, development of tourism had taken place at the local level as innkeepers looked to replicate Meran's success. In the 1880s, however, Johann Angerer began to raise awareness about the need for developing regional tourism infrastructure. Unlike the majority of Tyroleans who were farmers and lived in small towns, Angerer was well traveled, having served as both the editor of the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* and the mayor of Kufstein before arriving in Bozen, where he was appointed the secretary of the Chamber of Trade and Commerce in 1879.[45] Angerer quickly realized the vast economic potential of tourism. In 1885, he traveled to Klagenfuhrt to attend the second *Delegiertentag für den Fremdenverkehr*, where he raised awareness about the Tyrol's limited investment in tourism, despite the industry's increasing importance in the South Tyrol.[46] According to Angerer, it was "under the banner of tourism" that voters in Bozen had elected him to the Austrian Parliament (*Reichsrat*) in 1885.[47] Four years later, Angerer gave a speech in the Austrian House of Deputies (*Abgeordnetenhaus*) in which he argued for the creation of a Department of Tourism within the Ministry of the Interior. Angerer, though, found little support among political parties for his ideas. Liberal parliament president Baron Chlumecky, though, gave Angerer a small forum for his ideas by allowing him to discuss tourism during Parliamentary discussions about the budget.[48]

It is somewhat curious that Angerer found few supporters of tourism in the Reichsrat. After all, Angerer was hardly an outlier in his belief that the state should support local economies. Beginning in 1872, the Ministry of Agriculture (*Ackerbauministerium*), which was created in 1867, began deploying traveling teachers to instruct the tradition-bound farmers in more efficient ways of farming. These instructors introduced farmers to developments in agricultural science and economics. In Brixen, Imperial councilor Ferdinand Kaltenegger labored to improve livestock breeding and milk production. He also arranged for the sale of Tyrolean

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[43] Baedeker, *Southern Germany and the Austrian Empire*, 276.
[44] John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Southern Germany*, 14th ed. (London: John Murray, 1879), 296.
[45] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 52.
[46] Ibid.
[47] J. Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen über den Fremdenverkehr in Tirol und der Schweiz* (Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1899), 7-8.
[48] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 8.

beef in Vienna.[49] These policies all aimed at improving the economic prospects of Austria's villages and towns. The promotion of tourism seemed little different.

Without state support, the promotion of tourism remained a cause of individuals. While Johann Angerer was arguing for the importance of tourism to representatives in the House of Deputies, Anton Kofler, the secretary for the Chamber of Trade and Commerce in Innsbruck busied himself with the task of convincing the Innsbruck city council to fund a public commission for the promotion of tourism. Kofler, like Angerer, was a liberal who viewed tourists as economic assets to the community. Though born in Vienna, Kofler clearly considered the Tyrol his *Heimat*, or homeland.[50] This sense likely arose from Kofler's childhood, during which he traveled throughout the Tyrol as his father changed jobs. Kofler's father initially moved to Innsbruck to work for the government and then took a job as a forest supervisor, which required stints in Tione and Karneid in the South Tyrol as well as a period in Bezau in the Vorarlberg. The senior Kofler later served as a law clerk (*Kanzlist*) in Bruneck.[51] In November 1888, Kofler spearheaded the creation of a public tourist commission when he argued before the Innsbruck city council that the city would do a great service to all types of businesses by funding tourism.[52] Kofler had been inspired by the creation of a similar group in Salzburg, about whose actual functions he knew very little.[53] The city councilors divided evenly on a vote to support the commission, requiring Innsbruck's mayor to cast the deciding vote that ultimately authorized the new commission.[54]

With a yearly budget of 1,000 gulden, the commission set about solving its first basic problem—tourist accommodations.[55] According to Kofler, Innsbruck, at the time, suffered from a perception that rooms were scarce. It also faced a situation in which there was little enthusiasm to build new hotels. To address this issue, the commission capitalized on the fact that Innsbruck was a university town and, therefore, had a number of private rooms for rent. The commission then established a tourist accommodation service at the railroad station that not only directed travelers to hotels but also helped secure student rooms when the hotels were full.[56]

After addressing housing problems, the commission turned to the problem of attracting visitors, particularly those vacationing to the north in the reputable Bohemian spa towns of Karlsbad, Marienbad, and Franzensbad. By arranging visits for the spas' doctors, the commission helped spread information about Innsbruck and the Tyrol. Through their efforts, they eventually attracted the attention of Queen Elizabeth, who, while a guest in Karlsbad, made plans to visit Innsbruck.[57] With the help of travel writer Heinrich Noë, they also arranged the creation of a tourist guide to the region.[58]

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[49] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 174.
[50] For more about the notion of *Heimat*, see Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 2-20.
[51] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 57.
[52] Ibid., 40.
[53] Anton Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte der Tiroler Fremdenverkehrsförderung," *Schlern-Schriften* 77 (1951), 306.
[54] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 41.
[55] Ibid., 308.
[56] Ibid., 306-7.
[57] Ibid., 308.
[58] Ibid., 309.

The establishment of the Innsbruck commission led to the founding of larger regional and provincial associations in the Tyrol. Inspired by developments in Innsbruck, ninety-four men gathered in Brixen, Austria, in January 1889 to discuss forming a tourist association for the German-speaking South and East Tyrol.[59] News of this new association reached Kofler, who, the following month, decided to form the North Tyrol Tourist Association (*Fremdenverkehrsverein für Nordtirol*). Unlike the southern association, which was centrally controlled in Brixen, Kofler opted for a decentralized structure that allowed various regions to better address their specific needs. Kofler drew his inspiration from the German and Austrian Alpine Clubs (*Detuschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins*), which had numerous local sections.[60] Using this model, the new association established sections in Hall, Schwaz, Rattenberg, Brixlegg, Kufstein, and Kitzbühel.[61] Before the end of the summer, it became apparent that the next step was to found a tourism association for the Tyrol as a whole.

On August 4, 1889, representatives from the North and South Tyrol tourism associations convened with the health directors (*Vorstehung*) of Meran, Arco, and Bozen as well as members of the Innsbruck Commission to discuss the creation of a new organization. The gathered officials envisioned that the new organization would meet regularly and establish contacts with government officials, chambers of commerce, transportation organizations, alpine clubs, and the Austrian Tourist Club. [62] Known as the *Landesverband der vereinigten Kur- und Fremdenverkehrsvereine* (Provincial Association for Health and Tourist Associations), the new organization established leadership in both the north and south Tyrol.[63]

Although broad in ambition, the new organization was short in financing. To obtain funding, Kofler and Angerer traveled to Vienna to meet with Minister-President Eduard Taaffe, a former governor of the Tyrol during the 1870s. Taaffe, initially was unimpressed by the entreaties of the two men and remarked that tourism was a concern only for innkeepers. Taaffe simply could not imagine giving funds simply for the promotion of tourism and suggested that the men seek money for some other cause. Kofler suggested that the government grant the Landesverband money for "statistical work." Taaffe proved amendable to this idea and arranged a grant of 1,000 Gulden.[64] The Tyrolean Parliament (*Tiroler Landtag*) also provided a yearly contribution of 1,000 Gulden for 1890, 1891, and 1893.[65] With this funding, the Landesverband established a central office in a middle school (*Realschule*) in Innsbruck, where the organization was well positioned to have constant contact with provincial officials and the railroad.[66]

Similar to the Innsbruck Commission, the Landesverband's early concerns centered around tourist accommodations. Unlike in Switzerland, where a few large hoteliers were able to accommodate the needs of a large number of foreign guests, the Tyrol featured more diversity in its accommodations. In fact, between 1890 and 1912, private homeowners opened up 19,700

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[59] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 321.
[60] Kolfer, "Aus der Geschichte," 310.
[61] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 321.
[62] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 312.
[63] Ibid., 313.
[64] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 313.
[65] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang*, 321-2.
[66] Angerer notes the advantages of an Innsbruck office in *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 15.

new beds, which gave them a total of 25,790 beds, or a third of available beds in the Tyrol.[67] Officials realized that innkeepers and others needed to be educated about how to prepare lodging for foreign guests. To this end, Kofler and Dr. Otto Kölner created a brochure intended for innkeepers living in some of the seldom-visited valleys. In an era in which the bourgeois urban public was becoming increasingly more concerned with cleanliness, it is no surprise that Kofler was particularly appalled at the state of bathroom facilities, which were usually located in outhouses behind the inns. Compounding problems was the fact that many innkeepers did not provide separate bathroom facilities for men and women. To help innkeepers modernize their bathrooms, Kofler provided them with grants of 50 Gulden.[68] The Landesverband augmented information in its brochures with displays at provincial exhibitions. At the Tyrolean Provincial Exhibition (*Tiroler Landesaustellung*) in 1893, for example, Johann Angerer arranged an exhibit on dining areas, guest rooms, and bathrooms.[69]

For Kofler and Angerer, the goal was to essentially transform the Tyrol into an extension of the Swiss and German resorts. These places attracted the wealthy guests that the Tyrol desired. To better understand what the Tyrol needed to improve, Angerer undertook a trip to Switzerland and subsequently published, in 1899, a book about his observations entitled *Vergleichende Betrachtungen über den Fremdenverkehr in Tirol und in die Schweiz* (Comparative Views about Tourism in the Tyrol and Switzerland). Angerer used the book to make very pointed comments about the improvements that the Tyrol needed. For example, he noted that the quality of Tyrolean food and drink lagged far behind the expectations that guests brought from other resorts. In Karlsbad, for example, innkeepers provided guests with high quality wine. The Tyrolean innkeeper, however, was little concerned with what his guests imbibed. Angerer's observations of conspicuous consumption in Switzerland convinced him that a good selection of wine could be the basis for attracting large numbers of guests.[70] Good meat was also essential. Instead of foul-smelling limited selection of cuts that most inns offered, Angerer suggested that innkeepers investigate preparing pork, venison, and poultry. Dining menus could be improved even further, Angerer noted, by offering better coffee, tea, butter, honey, bread, oil, vinegar, fruit, and cheese.[71] Doing these things would attract more guests and help them forget that a border even existed between Switzerland and Austria.

Selling the Tyrol Abroad

By ensuring that innkeepers provided clean accommodations and good food, the Landesverband made certain that tourists would be pleased with their stay in the Tyrol. The larger problem the Landesverband faced was getting people to travel further east from Switzerland or to make the journey west from Vienna. In other words, the Tyrol had to market itself as unique from the Swiss resorts and places like Semmering, which was a short train ride from Vienna. To accomplish this, the Landesverband worked hard to produce an image for the Tyrol that celebrated it as a place for alpine sight seeing. World's Fairs were particularly

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[67] Laurent Tissot, "Tourism in Austria and Switzerland: Models of Development and Crisis, 1880-1960," in *Economic Crises and Restructuring in History: Experiences of Small Countries*, ed. Timo Myllyntaus (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae Verlag, 1998), 291.
[68] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 311-12.
[69] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 18-19.
[70] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 32-33.
[71] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 33-34.

effective venues for marketing the region. The first fair in which the Landesverband participated was the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago. For this event, Kofler commissioned a painting by Munich artist Zeno Diemer of the mountains ringing the Pitztal, a mountain valley in the North Tyrol.[72] At Kofler's suggestion, Diemer executed the painting from the perspective one would have while standing atop castle ruins. The picture featured snow-covered peaks and was clearly intended to appeal to tourists interested in mountain climbing and hiking as it featured an alpine club touring hut in the foreground. The exhibit also featured a peasant's hut. Unfortunately for the Landesverband, the exhibit was located inside the Transportation Building instead of outside amidst all the free-standing exhibits.[73] As a result, reviews and documentation of the exhibit were scarce. Newspapers only gave the exhibit brief mention and picture books ignored it altogether.[74] An article in *Munsey's Magazine* briefly and incorrectly described the exhibit as a miniature village featuring a church, castle, and peasant's hut. The author likely never even visited the exhibit as she dedicated the majority of her text to describing the actual Tyrol and its beautiful castles and churches which, she said, were far more impressive than the exhibit that the Tyroleans had created primarily to "represent their country in the aspect by which it is most generally known to the outside world; namely, as a resort for tourists."[75]

The Landesverband received much better publicity and attention the following year at the World's Fair in Antwerp, Belgium. With the help of the Belgian Consul General in Vienna, Kofler secured good placement of the Tyrol exhibit, which employed the same mountain painting and also included craftsmen such as the Krippenschnitzers from Inzig who created small manger scenes and other models. So many people visited the exhibit that police had to be brought in to control the crowds. Notable guests included the Dutch Queen, who was so impressed with the exhibit that she promised to visit the Tyrol.[76] The Landesverband also participated in fairs in Brussels (1888) as well as those in St. Louis (1904) and Paris (1900). For the Parisian event, officials created a replica castle to attract visitors because handcrafts seemed to be a little interest at that particular fair.[77] In St. Louis, on the other hand, Tyroleans worked with the local German-speaking community, including beer-magnate Adolphus Busch, to create a German and Tyrolean village that featured a popular town hall and church where people watched folk dances and the *Passion Play*. The buildings were so popular that St. Louis did not actually dismantle them until 1907.[78]

The Landesverband also supplied a variety of literature about the Tyrol to help entice visitors to the area. Among the earliest and most important books was Otto Kölner and J.C. Platter's *Almanach der Bäder, Somerfrisch- und Lufcurorte Tirols*, which was an illustrated

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[72] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 314-15.
[73] "Tyrol's Beauty Shown on Canvas," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 16, 1893.
[74] For an example of the comprehensive picture books that neglected to document the Tyrol exhibit, see *Glimpses of the World's Fair: A Selection of Gems of the White City as Seen Through a Camera* (Chicago: Laird & Lee Publishers, 1893).
[75] Charolotte H. Coursen, "Tyrol at the World's Fair," *Munsey's Magazine* 9 (June 1893), 231.
[76] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 316.
[77] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 19-20; Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 319-20.
[78] Paul Michael Lützeler, "The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 as a Site of Cultural Transfer: German and German-American Participation," in *German Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Reception, Adaptation, Transformation*, Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin, eds., (Rochester, New York: Camden House, 2005), 66-7.

brochure that the Landesverband sent to 1,000 doctors in Austria and Germany.[79] The Landesverband also supplied thousands of brochures on specific places in the North and South Tyrol and put advertisements in a variety of newspapers and magazines, including *Neuesten Nachrichten*, *Gartenlaube*, the *Leipziger Illustrierten Zeitung*, *Universum*, and *Von Fels Zum Meer*.[80] The marketing efforts certainly attracted attention, and in 1898 alone the Landesverband received letters from 2,000 individuals with whom it corresponded in not only German but also French, English, and Italian.[81] Despite robust correspondence with foreign tourists, Angerer noted that Tyrolean inns often lacked publications in foreign languages about the Tyrol. For example, many inns had plenty of French literature on hand but little of it was about the Tyrol, itself.[82] In 1901, the Landesverband remedied this problem by printing 40,000 copies in French of the illustrated book *Vom Bodensee durch Vorarlberg nach Tirol und Salzburg*.[83] By 1905, the Landesverband had created an advertising office specifically for standardizing advertising among hotel owners and tourist associations as well as placing publications in magazines.[84]

In addition to publications, the Landesverband established travel offices. With support from the Railroad Ministry and funding from Vienna, the Landesverband opened an information office in London in 1904.[85] Two years later, the Landesverband had agents working in Paris, Nizza, and Karlsbad, where they sold coupons for travel and hotels.[86] The association even arranged for English mayors to visit the Tyrol.[87]

Confronting Tourism's Opponents

The Landesverband not only concerned itself with improving the reputation of Tyrol among foreigners, it also busied itself with altering the perception of tourism among Tyroleans, themselves. As noted above, among the Landesverband's earliest actions was reaching out to innkeepers to instruct them on how to handle foreign tourists who were following guidebooks to make their way through the Tyrol. Conflicts inevitably erupted as tourists made demands on villagers. For example, Tyrolean mountain guides complained that they were required to work on Sundays and holidays.[88] The strife between tourists and locals caused conservative politicians to oppose tourism on the grounds that it was anti-religious and morally corrupting.[89] Conservative newspapers also fueled the antagonism by issuing polemics about the dangers of tourism.[90] The Tyrolean Parliament eventually rejected funding of the Landesverband on the grounds that tourism would corrupt the thrift and frugality of citizens.[91] Catholic leaders were particularly opposed to tourism because large numbers of tourists were Protestants from England and

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[79] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 66; Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 20.
[80] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 19-20.
[81] Ibid., 23.
[82] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 34-5.
[83] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 66.
[84] Ibid. 67.
[85] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 320; Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 65.
[86] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 65.
[87] Ibid., 67.
[88] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 25.
[89] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 24.
[90] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 26-7.
[91] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 71.

northern Germany. As a result, Catholic bishops in Brixen and Trent issued pastoral letters in 1896 and 1914 that decried the moral problems of tourism.[92]

Further complicating the debate about the virtues of tourism were the economic and environmental problems that ravaged the Tyrol in the 1890s. In the South Tyrol, vintners battled a new mildew (*Peronospora viticola*) that plagued their grape harvests. The damage sustained in the region (*Kammerbezirk*) of Bozen was particularly striking. In 1886, the area of Bozen produced 356,000 hectoliters of wine. By 1891, however, Bozen could only produce a meager 12,680 hectoliters. Numbers rebounded in 1892 to 155,310 hectoliters, but production was still below the levels of the pre-mold era.[93] Heavy rains also plagued farmers, preventing the maturing of wheat, rye, barley and oats. As a result, many farmers abandoned agriculture for dairy farming. This transition involved the purchase of new seeds, fertilizer, and machinery. Having suffered through poor harvests, farmers often did not have the money for these items and had to take out loans.[94] Adding even more misery to the farmers' plight were the high taxes that they had to pay for the transfer of land through inheritance.[95] The economic peril threatened many farmers with the loss of their property (*Hof*). Many were only able to maintain their land because creditors feared taking over such dilapidated properties.[96] The visits of tourists only compounded the problems of farmers as food prices rose as tourists put greater demand on already scarce food sources.[97]

Members of the Landesverband used a variety of methods to counter hostile attitudes toward tourism. Kofler and J.C. Platter, for example, carried out a lecture circuit, of sorts, to educate Tyroleans about tourism's benefits. During these gatherings, Kofler preached the trickle-down effect of tourism by emphasizing that tourism promised economic advantages for not just innkeepers, but communities as a whole. Tourist dollars would only flow into a community if tourists felt welcomed. As former editor of Bozen's *Tiroler Sonntagsboten*, J. C. Platter spoke to this point, discussing the importance of accurate advertisements and the problems caused by misleading ones.[98] Kofler's visits were not secret affairs, and they often received mention in the newspapers. The conservative newspaper *Tiroler Stimmen* ridiculed Kofler as the *Phrasenheld* (Hero of Empty Statements).[99] Johann Angerer also argued for the benefits of tourism in publications such as *Vergleichende Betrachtungen über den Fremdenverkehr in Tirol und in die Schweiz*. To indicate the imperial support for his agenda, Angerer opened his book with a story about Emperor Franz Josef's first visit to Switzerland, during which the Austrian sovereign commented that Austrian alpine lands were as pretty as those of their western neighbor and that Austria should use Switzerland as an example for attracting international tourists.[100] Angerer realized that many people in the Tyrol were fearful of how tourism would affect the social and economic fabric of the Tyrol. He pointed out that Switzerland offered an example of how

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[92] Cole, *"Fur Gott, Kaiser, und Vaterland,"* 380.
[93] Fontana, *Vom Neubau bis zum Untergang der Habsburgermonarchie*, 310.
[94] Ibid., 311-12.
[95] Ibid., 312.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Johann Angerer notes this problem in *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 36-37.
[98] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 318.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen über den Fremdenverkehr in Tirol*, part 1, 1. Angerer's book, although short, has three sections that are numbered separately.

tourism and religious observance could coexist. In the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, religion was respected by visitors and not threatened. It was in the cities, though, that religious observance was waning.[101] Angerer thus suggested that Tyrolean towns had a moral responsibility to welcome urban tourists and, in the process, remind them of the importance of religion. The tourism crusader also addressed the economic problems aroused by tourism and admitted that visits of strangers would not only cause the price of groceries to increase but that that it would cause quaint locales to become international in character. He argued, though, that these were the prices one had to pay for an industry that would benefit so many people. Angerer noted that he acted with a "patriotic motive" and a "love for the people" by supporting the visits of foreigners.[102]

Promises that tourism would benefit the Tyrol hinged not only on local support but also national support. The Landesverband needed economic aid from Vienna to carry out its goals. To achieve its ends, the association needed to prove that the inchoate Tyrolean tourism industry was an important feature of the alpine economy. Discussions about parliamentary funding for tourism began in 1900 when Kofler and a number of other tourism associations approached Minister-President Ernest von Koerber about getting state support for tourism. The group initially received a cold welcome when von Koerber pointed out that the state was not interested in tourism. Kofler, though, won over von Koerber by presenting him statistics about the consumption of fine cigarettes and sugar in the crown lands, thus illustrating that the Tyrol, despite being industrially weak and therefore poorer than other areas, was a leader in these leisure item categories. According to Kofler, such statistics convinced von Koerber to support the Landesverband, but it is unclear exactly what sort of support he offered.[103] It was around this time that the government provided 20,000 Kronen for the establishment of a tourism information office in London.[104] Two years later, during a meeting of Parliament, Minister-President Max Wladimir von Beck suggested the creation of a central office for tourism in the Tyrol. The Landesverband feared giving up local control, though, and suggested in a memorandum that the state merely offer financial support of tourism rather than assume control of the industry. They argued that the state could do this by funding the railroad, buildings streets, and designing postal, telegraph, and telephone systems. Although Beck's office did not ultimately materialize, under his leadership a Tourism Department was created within the Ministry for Public Work in May 1908.[105] Kofler immediately arranged for the head of this new office, Dr. Schindler, to visit the Tyrol. Kofler met Schindler near Kitzbühel, where he hoped to show councilor what sort of road improvements were needed. From there, Schindler spent the following eight days traveling throughout the Tyrol.[106] The following year, the Landesverband arranged with the new department to offer training courses in both cooking and the hotel and restaurant industry.[107]

Economic changes and modernization, though, did have their opponents. The same year that the Ministry for Public Work established its Tourism Office, a group of Tyroleans in Innsbruck founded the *Verein für Heimatschutz in Tirol* (Tyrolean Association for Homeland

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[101] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, III, 24-25.
[102] Ibid., 36-7.
[103] Kolfer," Aus der Geschichte," 321.
[104] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 65.
[105] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 73.
[106] Kofler, "Aus der Geschichte," 322.
[107] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 69.

Protection). Before long, the new club had sections in Meran, Bozen, Lana, Brixen, and Reutte. This conservative group worked to support traditional building ways and fought for the protection and maintenance of old city quarters in places such as Innsbruck. They also usually aligned themselves with the anti-capitalist and anti-Semitic stances of the Christian Socialists.[108]

The Challenges of Winter Tourism

By 1910, tourism had both provincial and imperial support. For the most part, though, tourism was perceived as a summer phenomenon. The Landesverband concentrated most of its energy on capitalizing on summer tourism and sight seeing. Despite the growing interest in winter sports in Switzerland, the association expended little effort in creating a winter tourist season centered on sports. In fact, it was only in May 1904 that the Landesverband founded a sports committee to promote winter sports.[109] Even after the creation of this committee, the German sporting press criticized the Landesverband for doing little to advance winter tourism on the scale that it was championed in Bavaria and Switzerland.[110] In 1907, the association's limited efforts in the realm of winter tourism manifested as a calendar and brochure listing all the winter events.[111]

The promotion of winter sports tourism was difficult because it required freezing temperatures and snow, two features that the climate of most health resorts did not feature. In fact, winter was what many health resort guests were seeking to escape.

Further complicating the promotion of winter sports was the fact that interest in sports like ice skating was an urban phenomenon that spread more slowly in the Hapsburg Empire. Unlike in England where skating flourished on ponds and canals in the early nineteenth century, Austrians and Germans did not take note of the sport until the late 1860s when Jackson Haines, an American figure skater, arrived in Vienna. Haines, who had studied dance in Europe and theater in America, injected ice skating with a new theatricality. The young dancer prepared his routines by practicing before a mirror, which allowed him to perfect his dance movements and body positions.[112] In the U.S., Haines made a living by both doing ballet and performing skating exhibitions in theaters and on outdoor ice rinks.[113] His performances, which attracted huge crowds, usually featured a band as Haines preferred to move in time to music. During performances in January 1864, the *Chicago Tribune* hailed him as the "most expert skater in the United States if not the world" and emphasized that "Imagination cannot fill the bill. He must be seen to be appreciated."[114] The paper noted that the "young, fair-looking and gracefully-formed man, with splendidly developed muscles" performed pirouettes, spins, and other movements that appeared to "set at defiance all laws of gravity."[115] In 1864, Haines left for England where he

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[108] Laurence Cole, "*Für Gott, Kaiser und Vaterland:" Nationale Identität der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung Tirols 1860-1914*, trans. Charlotte Tacke (Frankfurt: Campus Verlag, 2000), 382-3.
[109] Lässer*, 100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 70.
[110] "Wintersport in Tirol," *Verkehr und Sport* 1, no. 17 (1905), 300.
[111] Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 67.
[112] Brown, *Ice Skating,* 84-5.
[113] "Academy of Music," classified advertisement, *Chicago Tribune*, June 9, 1864; "Amusements," *Chicago Tribune*, January 20, 1864; Brown, *Ice Skating*, 85.
[114] "Amusements," *Chicago Tribune*, January 20, 1864.
[115] "Jackson Haines and the Poetry of Skating," *Chicago Tribune*, January 23, 1864.

failed to impress British Victorians with his "fancy" skating style.[116] Although skating was a popular British amusement, attracting thousands of revelers at a time when waterways froze over, Haines's performances proved less interesting.[117] British skaters preferred combined skating in which two skaters, starting from a marking ball, carved symmetrical patterns into the ice.[118] As a result, Haines traveled to Vienna where his twirling on skates was well received by a community already in love with the waltz.[119] By appearing in Russian costumes and dressing up as a woman and as a polar bear, Haines became quite an attraction in Vienna where spectators appreciated his ice dancing to music. Haines's great contribution to skating was making the skater's bodily movements the attraction, not the figures they etched into the ice. With his performances, the American skater eventually attracted a following, giving birth to what would become known as the Vienna or International School.[120]

The fascination with skating quickly translated into the formation of a number of clubs and the publication of skating literature. Among the first clubs was the Wiener Eislauf-Verein (Vienna Skating Club), which formed in 1867.[121] Members of this club collaborated to write *Spuren auf dem Eise* (Tracings on the Ice), a comprehensive skating manual that advocated the union of skating and dancing.[122] Although it is unclear whether Haines actually visited the Tyrol, his influence on the area was unmistakable as artificial skating rinks began appearing in Innsbruck by 1870.[123] When Haines died in 1875, the *Innsbrucker Nachrichten* even published a short biography of him.[124] It was not until 1884, however, that a number of upper-class skaters, including two aristocrats and a university professor, formed the Innsbrucker Eislaufverein (Innsbruck Ice Skating Club).[125] The club struggled initially with its finances and by 1889, with too few members, it approached the edge of dissolution. Under the leadership of Raffael Ritter von Meinong, however, the club created a new rink and gained prominent figures such as Archduke Franz Ferdinand as members. In 1897, the club joined the Austrian Ice Skating Association.[126]

The popularity of skating also benefited from the burgeoning fascination with tennis, which, like most sports, was introduced by English visitors to fashionable German resorts such

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[116] Brown, *Ice Skating*, 85.
[117] "The Weather," *The Times*, January 30, 1865.
[118] Ellyn Kestnbaum, *Culture on Ice: Figure Skating and Cultural Meaning* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2003), 60, 66.
[119] Vienna's obsession with the waltz was impressive. The Apollo Palace, for example, provided space for 6,000 people to waltz. There was even a room for pregnant women who wanted to dance without having to mingle with the general public. Ruth Katz, "The Egalitarian Waltz," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 15, no. 3 (June 1973), 375.
[120] Kestnbaum, *Culture on Ice*, 66; Brown, *Ice Skating*, 85-6.
[121] Brown, *Ice Skating*, 104-5.
[122] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 67.
[123] Karl Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte: Turnen und Sport in Tirol bis 1955* (Innsbruck: Haymon-Verlag, 1996), 141.
[124] Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte*, 272n65.
[125] Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte*, 142. For a short history of the club, see Josef Prochaska, "50 Jahre Innsbrucker Eislaufverein (1883-1933)," *Sport in Winter* 2 (1933/34), 125-127.
[126] Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte*, 141-42.

as Bad Homburg and Baden-Baden in the 1870s.[127] The links between skating and tennis appeared as early as 1883 in Germany when the Gemeinnütziger Verein Baden-Baden secured a lease to build tennis courts on meadow that in the winter had served as a skater's pond.[128] By the end of the decade, two skating clubs in Hamburg had formed tennis clubs, realizing that their skating facilities transitioned nicely into tennis courts. The Eisbahnverein vor dem Dammtor was able to make use of its restaurant, ladies' room, dressing room, and music hall in both winter and summer.[129]

Overlapping facilities were not all that linked the two sports. Perhaps more important was the fact that tennis complimented ice skating as a sport of flirtation. A cartoon from *Vom Fels zum Meer* around 1894 emphasized the courting that took place. Rather than volleying a ball, two well-dressed women batted a miniature man back-and-forth across the net.[130] Many early tennis clubs, in fact, were merely made up of families who got together as a way of introducing their children and encouraging engagements.[131] As a result, many clubs complained about their attempts to get women to play serious tennis.[132] The excitement of "Engagement Tennis" was not all that prevented women from playing "serious" tennis. Wide skirts and corsets hampered a woman's ability to both run and swing a racket.[133] Without similar clothing problems, men used the tennis courts to show off their athletic prowess and market themselves to women.[134]

It is difficult to determine the popularity of tennis in Austria, but the connection between skating and tennis was undeniable. In Innsbruck, members of the Innsbrucker Eislaufverein played key roles in promoting tennis, although the club itself did not take an active role. Beginning in 1904, the *Austellungsgelände*, which was used in the winter as an ice rink, was transformed into tennis courts.[135]

Kitzbühel and Early Attempts to Promote Winter Sports

By the turn of the century, Tyrolean villages were attempting to capitalize on the growing interest in ice skating. Similar to early summer health tourism in the South Tyrol, the promotion of winter tourism was mostly carried out at the local level by individual towns and hotel owners who hoped to attract elites accustomed to ice skating in Vienna. Foremost among these places in the Tyrol was Kitzbühel, whose residents, in the waning months of 1899, formed an association to discuss the creation of an ice rink. Unseasonable weather, though, foiled the Kitzbühel group's plans, forcing its members to abandon the costly rink within a month of its creation.[136] Bad weather may have thwarted the creation of an ice rink, but it did not dissolve interest in winter

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[127] Heiner Gillmeister, *Tennis: A Cultural History* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 234, 242.
[128] Ibid., 243.
[129] Ibid., 243-5.
[130] Th. Th. Heiner, "Lawn-Tennis," *Vom Fels zum Meer* 14 (1894-95), 24 in Gillmeister, *Tennis*, Plate 16 appearing between pp. 244-45.
[131] Eisenberg, *English Sports*, 200.
[132] Ibid., 202.
[133] Ibid., 203-4.
[134] Ibid., 201.
[135] Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte*, 22.
[136] *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 1, no. 23 [November/December 1899]: 3; *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 2, no. 5, [January 1900]: 2.

tourism. In 1901, Franz Reisch, a local inn owner and chairman of the Landesverband section in Kitzbühel, spearheaded efforts to prepare the surface of a nearby lake for ice skating.[137] To provide for maintenance fees, Reisch charged an entrance fee.[138] Although there was little documentation in the local press, Kitzbühel also created a toboggan track around 1900.[139]

Kitzbühel's efforts to reinvent itself paid dividends almost immediately when in 1901 the village received mention in the English-language magazine *The Traveler*, which noted that the village was a small winter resort where one could breathe the "bracing air" while ice skating or tobogganing.[140] The comments about healthy air and sports associated Kitzbühel with Swiss mountain resorts, which attracted people interested in health and recreation. Although lying within the Hapsburg Empire, Kitzbühel, the article implied, would remind one of a Swiss village.

Building on this modest success, Reisch continued his encouragement of winter sports in 1902 when he gathered community members together to found the Kitzbühel Winter Sports Association (*Wintersport Vereinigung).* Reisch's group dedicated itself to continued modification of the winter environment to accommodate conspicuous leisure. To this end, the sports association created committees to oversee the development of ice skating, tobogganing, and skiing and set goals of creating an ice rink and securing five toboggans and two sets of skis for guests to rent.[141]

To further encourage winter sports, Kitzbühel citizens built toboggan tracks and staged competitions. Among the earliest of these contests was a toboggan race in February 1903 for which competitors submitted an entrance fee of 40 Heller.[142] Over the following few years, the association staged prize races for men, women, and children. In all of these competitions, men paid fees to compete, but it is unclear for what purpose the entry fee was used.[143] The toboggan races were reportedly very popular, but the small articles in the local press gave little idea as to whether local Kitzbühlers or English guests were the ones participating or watching the events.[144] What is clear, though, is that locals were trying to imitate the larger more popular winter resorts in Switzerland and those near Vienna. After all, the Wintersport Vereinigung (WSV) continually improved its facilities to match those in Switzerland, where the majority of winter guests were vacationing. Attempts at creating fast toboggan tracks like the Cresta in St. Moritz, though, attracted limited interest and the WSV quickly abandoned such options.[145]

Aside from poor weather and limited interest in tobogganing, one of the earliest problems Reisch confronted was Kitzbühel's dearth of accommodations. To help solve this problem, Reisch along with five other Kitzbühel citizens founded the Hotelbau-Verein Kitzbühel in 1902 to undertake the construction of a large hotel like those in the southern Tyrolean towns of Sulden

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[137] Angerer, *Vergleichende Betrachtungen*, I, 30.
[138] "Sportliches," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 3, no. 49, (1901): 3.
[139] The earliest reference to a toboggan track comes from "Winter Notes from the Tyrol," *The Traveler* (January 19, 1901)
[140] "Winter Notes from the Tyrol," *The Traveler* (January 19, 1901)
[141] "Wintersport-Vereinigung Kitzbühel," *Kitzbühler Bezirks Bote* 4, no. 51 (1902), 2.
[142] "Preisrodeln in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 5, no. 5 (1903), 2.
[143] "Der Turnverien Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 4(January 24, 1904), 1-2; "Kitzbühel (Presirodeln)," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote*, 8, no. 4 (1906), 2.
[144] "Wintersport in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 6 (Febuary 6, 1904), 1-2.
[145] "25 Jahre Wintersportverein Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten*, 29 März 1930.

and Karersee.[146] In 1903, the Kitzbühel Hotel opened, offering 150 beds to tourists. The new hotel helped alleviate Kitzbühel's accommodation problem at least during the summer as the hotel was only equipped for summer occupancy.[147] Despite Reisch's efforts to promote winter tourism, it was not until 1906 that the Kitzbühel Hotel planned to open its rooms to winter guests.[148] It is unclear whether the hotel actually opened that winter. If it did, it is likely that guest numbers were not high as the hotel did not feature central heating until 1908.[149] In his attempt to carry out improvements, Reisch received considerable help from tourism booster Anton Kofler, who helped raise money for Reisch once he ran into problems trying to build baths in Hall and a sports hotel in St. Anton. In the process, Kofler took over the Hotelbau-Gessellschaft from Reisch and assumed management of the new hotel, which he named the Grand Hotel.[150]

The attempts by Kofler and Reisch to turn Kitzbühel into a Swiss-style resort were moderately successful. The resort did attract prominent foreign visitors, including Indian royalty from Bharatpur who arrived with a group of English guests in 1910.[151] Despite the high-profile visits, Kitzbühel had little to offer that other resorts did not also have. If anything, it was going to attract the type of visitor who was simply looking for a change of scenery. As early as the 1890s, British guests in Davos, Switzerland, had described how many of their countrymen had begun to visit the Tyrol because they liked Switzerland so much that they yearned to see more of the Alps.[152] By 1901, some of these wanderers had discovered Kitzbühel.

The Tyrol and Skiing

What established Kitzbühel as a unique winter resort was the growing interest in downhill skiing. The enthusiasm for this Norwegian recreation began in 1891 with the German publication of Fridtjof Nansen's *Paa Ski over Grønland* (On skis over Greenland), a book in which the Norwegian explorer recounted his historic crossing of Greenland.[153] More than just an account of Nansen's exploits, the book was a panegyric to the ski and skiing that included an entire chapter on the history and uses of the ski. Nansen described the ski as a tool for developing a person's strength and as means for adventure. According to Nansen, there was no sport that "so evenly develops the muscles, which renders the body so strong and elastic, which teaches so well the qualities of dexterity and resource, which in an equal degree calls for decision and resolution, and which gives the same vigour and exhilaration to mind and body alike."[154] When a person was on skis, he was enveloped by nature, surrounded by stunning white vistas. In such surroundings "Civilization is . . . washed clean from the mind and left far behind with the

[146] Ursula Gelbert-Knorr and Hildegard Mohr, *Das Grand Hotel Kitzbühel: Speigel eines Jahrhunderts* (n.d.), 5. Photocopy of proofs at the Stadtarchiv Kitzbühel.
[147] Fischer, "Traditionalismus," in Sieberer, *Kitzbühels Weg*, 104.
[148] "Die Bewirtschaftung des Hotel Kitzbühel für den Winter is sichergestellt." *Verkehr und Sport* 3, no. 11 (September 1906), 247.
[149] Gelbert-Knorr, *Das Grand Hotel Kitzbühel*, 7.
[150] Ibid., 13-14.
[151] Ibid., 14.
[152] *The [Davos] Courier*, September 29, 1894.
[153] Nansen, *The First Crossing of Greenland*, 48.
[154] Ibid., 53-55.

city atmosphere and city life." [155] Skiing was not only a healthy exercise for the urban worker, it was also a sport for the adventuresome. On skis, a person rushed down hillsides and kept his "eye, brain, and muscles alert and prepared to meet every unknown obstacle and danger which the next instant may throw in one's path."[156] Instead of dodging the people, horses, and trolley's of the city, one avoided trees and rocks.

In a period of imperial conquest and scientific exploration, Nansen's feats attracted particular attention from the major powers. His accomplishment appealed particularly to the adventure-mad British who had long celebrated the achievements of mountaineers in the high, cold peaks of the Alps. No more than three weeks after his return from Greenland, Nansen addressed the Royal Geographical Society in London about his adventure, the type of which had not been attempted by a British expedition in thirteen years.[157] With the aid of skis, Nansen had accomplished what an American team led by Robert Peary had failed to achieve only two years earlier.[158] He was immediately popular in England as a fearless adventurer. Although talks at the Royal Geographical Society suggested the adventure had been conducted under the auspices of science, Nansen remained adamant that he had conducted his expedition only for sport.[159] Regardless of the justification given for the trip, Nansen's tale was a smash hit and *Paa Ski over Grønland* was almost immediately translated into English.[160]

Nansen's exploits were not only praised in the northern reaches of Europe, they also garnered significant praise in German-speaking central Europe, as well. The fascination among Germans and Austrians, though, had less to do with adventure and more to do with recreation and health. Although generally sports-abhorrent, Germans, as noted earlier, were attracted to Nansen's descriptions of skiing, which appeared as outdoor exercise experienced a renewed popularity in Germany due to the *Wanderfogel* youth movements and working class "Friends of Nature" groups who promoted recreation in the outdoors.[161] Appropriately, Nansen's feats inspired emerging sports clubs such as the Munich Ice Skating Club (*Münchner Eislaufverein*) to venture into Munich's English Garden to experiment with skis on the park's small hills. This initial outing quickly led to the formation of the Munich Ski Club (*Münchner Ski Club*), which justified skiing as a fitness activity that was the winter compliment to cycling and rowing, both sports associated with fast, smooth movement over earth and water.[162] All these sports were popular among the educated classes.[163] Similarly, in Austria, the Styrian Regional Bicycling

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[155] Ibid., 55.
[156] Ibid., 55.
[157] Huntford, *Nansen*, 160.
[158] Robinson, *Coldest Crucible*, 118.
[159] Huntford, *Nansen*, 159-61.
[160] Allen, "British and Modernisation," 48.
[161] English visitors to resort communities noted that the Germans were little interested in sporting activities. [MacMorland], *Davos-Platz*, 41; Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und Deutsche Bürger*, 157. For general information on *fin-de-siècle* recreation trends, see Henning Eichberg, "The Enclosure of the Body: On the Historical Relativity of 'Health', 'Nature' and the Environment of Sport," *Journal of Contemporary History* 21, no. 1 (January 1986), 108-9.
[162] "Das Skilaufen in München," *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, November 22, 1891; "Weitere Mittheilungen über das Skilaufen," *Deutscher Eis-Sport*, 5 December 1891.
[163] Eisenberg, *English Sports*, 210.

Association (*Steirische Radfahrer Gauverband*) urged cyclists in 1892 to take up skiing in the winter to maintain muscle strength.[164]

During the following years, skiing pioneers formed a number of ski clubs throughout central Europe. In Vienna in 1891, a group founded the short-lived Ski Club of Vienna, which promoted skiing and offered instruction.[165] The publication of Nansen's book also coincided with the visit of two Norwegians to Vienna who attracted attention in 1892 by skiing through Pötzleinsdorf, a park on the outskirts of Vienna.[166] These men, William Bismarck Samson, a baker studying Viennese confectionary, and Georg Wedel-Jarlsberg, a Swedish diplomat, stirred enough interest in skiing that they were invited that same year to form the Lower Austrian Ski Association (*Niederösterreichischer Ski-Verein*), for which they served as ski instructors on the weekends to mainly aristocrats who had servants to carry their skis and up the slopes.[167] Germany, too, saw the formation of clubs other than the one in Munich. In 1892, the Ski Club Todtnau was formed by a group in the Black Forest region of Germany. This club became a leading member of the Ski Club Schwarzwald, which was an association of ski clubs formed in 1895 that began staging competitions as early as 1896.[168] Following the introduction of Norwegian skis by Norwegian O. Kjelsberg, Switzerland also saw the founding of its first club in Glarus in 1893.[169]

Information about skiing also spread through the German press, particularly *Der Tourist*. Edited by Max Schneider in Berlin, *Der Tourist* was the official periodical of the German Tourist Association (*Verbandes Deutscher Touristen-Vereine*), a group that in 1889 included twenty-nine associations and 23,000 members.[170] The articles in *Der Tourist* were often reprinted in the influential *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung* as well as the *Deutsche Turn-Zeitung*.[171] The new magazine *Deutscher Eis-Sport* praised *Der Tourist* for providing comprehensive reports about the practice of the sport in the Harz, Thüringen, and Reisengebirge mountains as well as the Black and Viennese forests.[172] Echoing Nansen's claims to the pervasive use of skis in Norway, *Deutscher Eis-Sport* claimed in 1892 that skiing fever had infected Germany, causing most Germans, except those on the coast, to carry out all sort of daily duties on skis. Some even skied to church.[173] To the magazines great joy, a Nordic newspaper recognized the founding of the Munich Ski Club and prophesied that non-Norwegians would soon take part in the

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[164] Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 328n37.
[165] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 17 (February 21, 1892). It is unclear how long the club lasted. Reference to its short life is drawn from Arnold Lunn, *A History of Ski-ing* (London: Oxford University Press, 1927), 16.
[166] Huntford, *Two Planks*, 190.
[167] Huntford, *Two Planks*, 190-1.
[168] Lunn, *History of Ski-ing*, 19-20.
[169] Ibid., 23-25.
[170] Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 133.
[171] Ibid., 133-4.
[172] "Zum Schneeshuhsport," *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 8 (December 26, 1891).
[173] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 13 (January 26, 1892). Nansen notes that Norwegians learned to ski as soon as they could walk. Nansen, *Frist Crossing*, 55.

Holmenkollen, the combined ski jump and cross-country race that attracted thousands of spectators in Oslo.[174]

The skiing frenzy that Fridtjof Nansen ignited also spurred interest in Norwegian ski competitions. Norwegians had been competing in skiing contests, mainly cross-country races, since at least 1843, when the newspaper *Tromsø-Tidende* announced a ski race in the far northern Norwegian port of Tromsø.[175] Only in 1866 did skiing enthusiasts begin to organize these competitions further south in urban centers like Christiania (Oslo).[176] Sporadic competitions became more regular beginning in 1879 when the recently founded Christiania Ski Club staged the first of what would become an annual ski jump competition on Castle Hill (*Kastelbakken*) at Huseby, a farm on the western city limits of Christiania. This initial event was quite popular, drawing 10,000 spectators, including Oscar II, king of Norway and Sweden.[177] In 1892, due to increasingly poor winters, organizers moved the popular competition higher to Holmenkollen, which was situated behind the city at an elevation of roughly 985 feet.[178] Thanks to the interest in skiing already generated by Nansen, the Holmenkollen competition captured the attention of both the English and German press, which noted the wide appeal of the competitions that attracted university people, military officers, businessmen, and workers.[179] These periodicals also marveled at, and exaggerated somewhat, the ability of the skiers to fly through the air for up to 30 meters by launching from platforms standing 6-8 meters high.[180] In reality, most jumpers could not fly beyond 21 meters.[181]

As noted above, the spectacle of the ski jumper attracted more than a cadre of fitness enthusiasts, it drew the attention of whole communities. Even ski jumpers like Nansen noted that watching a ski jumper was "one of the most majestic shows that this earth can offer."[182] As such, the event offered middle class merchants and hotel owners a way to attract visitors. As a result, it did not take long before Germans were staging competitions similar to the Holmenkollen. One of the earliest of these events was held in 1892 in the Riesengebirge, where Norwegians took the first four places in both the cross-country and jumping competitions.[183] The following year, Toni Schruf, a hotel owner in Mürzzuschlag, a town in the low-lying Alps of southeastern Austria, became the first to envision the Alps as Norwegian hills. Schruf and the Styrian Ski Association staged a cross-country race that was won by William Samson, the apprentice baker and ski tutor of Viennese aristocrats who had first captured public attention when he skied through Pötzleinsdorf. Samson even obliged the competition's promoters by performing a ski jumping

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[174] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 18 (February 28, 1892). For a contemporary description of the Holmenkollen, see "Skilaufen," *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 2, no. 24 (June 15, 1893) and *The Davos Courier*, April 1, 1893.
[175] Huntford, *Two Planks*, 65.
[176] Ibid., 79.
[177] Ibid., 89-90.
[178] Ibid., 141.
[179] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 17 (February 21, 1892). For similar observations in the English press, see *The Davos Courier*, April 1, 1893.
[180] "Zum Schneeshuhsport," *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 8 (Dezember 26, 1891).
[181] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 17 (February 21, 1892).
[182] "Zum Schneesport," *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 8 (December 26, 1891)
[183] Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 44.

exhibition.[184] As in Norway, the event was wildly popular among the upper classes, attracting a number of aristocrats as well as Austrian Prime Minister Alfred August zu Windisch-Grätz and the prince and princess of Lichtenstein.[185] In all, over 2,000 people attended the competition.[186] It is likely that the popularity of these races stemmed from an already prevailing interest in horse racing. In Germany, horse racing was particularly popular among both the middle and upper classes.[187] Ski races certainly offered these groups the chance to see, and likely bet on, racing during the cold winter months.

The enthusiasm for skiing extended beyond its attraction as a spectator sport. The accounts of Nansen's adventures also encouraged urban skiers to explore the skiing terrain outside the city. The sporting press covered some of the earliest of these adventures. For example, when members of the Vienna Skating Club traveled to Semmering, a neighboring town of Mürzzuschlag, the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung* reported that the excursionists rode down hills on both skis and toboggans. The article noted that the group reveled in watching everyone crash at high speed in the snow.[188] These skiers and tobogganers had much in common with aristocratic British tourists who visited Swiss resorts to frolic on the ice and snow. Physical fitness appeared to be of little concern to them.

Not all urban skiers seemed so content with frivolous activity. In the great tradition of Turnvater Jahn, who had championed the virtues of outdoor exercise, many others sought out more strenuous outdoor experiences. In 1903, the Munich Academic Ski Club (*Akademischen Ski Club München*), one of the more reputable ski clubs in Europe, visited Kitzbühel to climb the Kitzbühler Horn, a towering peak standing 6,549 feet high. Following the trip, one of the club members penned a glowing endorsement of the town in the *Deutsche Alpen-Zeitung*, in which he hailed Kitzbühel as a picturesque place where skiers enjoyed plenty of sunshine and little wind.[189]

Franz Reisch and Skiing in Kitzbühel

Franz Reisch no doubt was enthused to see how skiers were reinterpreting Kitzbühel's mountains as suitable terrain for Norwegian skis. Reisch, himself, had been inspired by Nansen's writings and in 1893 had ordered a pair of skis from Norway and climbed the Kitzbühler Horn.[190] Reisch even published his experiences in the new periodical *Der Schneeshuh*.[191] As noted earlier, Reisch was very active in trying to create a skating rink for Kitzbühel. Even before his forays into winter recreation, Reisch built a summer guesthouse on the Kitzbüheler Horn for hikers.[192] In 1903, voters elected Reisch as mayor and he dedicated himself even more fiercely to

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[184] Huntford, *Two Planks*, 193-97.
[185] Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 125.
[186] Huntford, *Two Planks*, 193-96.
[187] Eisenberg, *"English Sports" und Deutsche Bürger*, 172.
[188] *Deutscher Eis-Sport* 1, no. 19 (March 6, 1892). This report is taken from the *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*.
[189] Th. Herzog, "Skitouren in den Kitzbühler Alpen," *Deutsche Alpenzeitung* 2, no. 18 (1902/3): 149-153.
[190] Gelbert-Knorr, *Das Grand Hotel Kitzbühel*, 3-4.
[191] Franz Reisch, "Mit dem Ski auf das Kitzbichler Horn," *Der Schneeschuh* 1, no. 1 (November 1, 1893), 3-4.
[192] *Kitzbühler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 5 (1899), 2; *Kitzbühler Bezirks Bote* 1, no. 23 [1899?], 2.

transforming Kitzbühel into the German and British perception of a Norwegian town in winter.[193]

Having read Nansen's book, Reisch was familiar with Nansen's stories of Norwegians who were raised on skis and how the sport, therefore, came naturally to them. Reisch was likely intrigued by these tales because in 1904 he and the Winter Sports Association made plans to buy twenty-five pairs of skis to give to local kids to encourage skiing.[194] During the following years, it was common to see the youth in Kitzbühel following Reisch around on skis, picking up what tips they could.[195] Young skiers would not only create a delightful atmosphere, they would also ensure a workforce of mountain guides who were comfortable on skis.

Without a group of knowledgeable mountain guides, Kitzbühel had to figure out a way to make its mountains intelligible to visitors who had little to know knowledge of the terrain. They needed to mark trails so that guests would not get lost. Efforts to this end began in 1904 when the WSV initiated plans to mark the most notable ski tours on a map and hang it up in Franz Reisch's café.[196] Following the union's (*Vereinigung*) reorganization as the Winter Sports Association (*Verein*) in 1906, the organization began discussions about physically marking popular trails on the mountain for guests. Some members suggested that the club carry out this work by placing poles with red flags along various routes. Association members noted that such markings were an expensive but important feature for guests.[197] After all, the alpine environment was much more dangerous than either the urban parks or alpine foothills.

In 1908, Franz Reisch supplemented this system of trail markings by publishing a book on all the available tours around Kitzbühel. Reisch's guidebook not only described the various trails in detail, but it also presented numerous photographs on which Reisch traced the routes for both climbing up and descending the mountains.[198] This book provided a more detailed and local supplement to guidebooks for the Austrian Tyrol that were already available in Kitzbühel's local book store.[199] The book reflected the years of skiing that Reisch had carried out since his initial ascent of the Kitzbühler Horn in 1893. With this guidebook, a person was able to distinguish among the trails. A person could describe his route by name and roam widely throughout the greater Kitzbühel area without the aid of a mountain guide.

Luring skiers was only part of developing a robust tourist business in Kitzbühel. Sports spectators also stimulated the economy by filling beds and purchasing items in town. To attract this clientele, in 1905 the Winter Sports Association staged a winter carnival fashioned after the Norwegian ski competitions. The festival featured the Tyrolean Ski Championship, a race of twelve kilometers that included a short downhill section in which contestants climbed 620 meters uphill before racing down.[200] The race attracted skiers from cities throughout Austria and even

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[193] "Bürgermeisterwahl," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 5, no. 41 (1903), 2.
[194] "Die Wintersport-Vereinigung in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 12 (1904): 2.
[195] "Franz Reisch zum Gedenken," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten*, January 30, 1911.
[196] "Die Wintersport-Vereinigung Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 48 (1904), 2.
[197] ."Kitzbühel (Wintersportverein Kitzbühel)," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8, no. 41 (1906), 2; "Aus Stat und Land," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8 (November 18, 1906): np.
[198] Franz Reisch, *Skitouren um Kitzbühel* (Munich: Gustav Lammers, 1908)
[199] "Wintersport," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 7, no 52 (1905), 3.
[200] "Wintersportfest," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 43 (23 October 1904): 1-2; "Wintersportfest in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 52 (1904): 4.

Munich.[201] In its format, the race resembled those ski competitions held in Oslo where competitors participated in both a cross-country race and a ski jump. These events were remarkable for the huge crowds who gathered to watch the event. Although Kitzbühel did not feature any Norwegian skiers, it did stage a ski jumping competition that featured the music of the band of the 1st Regiment of the Tyrolean Kaiserjägers.[202] Two years later, Kitzbühel arranged for Norwegian Lief Berg to jump at the festival.[203] The event was a huge success, and the local paper noted how it injected a summer atmosphere into winter.[204]

Likely because of the growing perception of Kitzbühel as a ski center, the town became a hub of ski instruction. In 1904, Austrian Lieutenant and skiing pioneer Georg Bilgeri led a division of Kaiserjägers to Kitzbühel to explore the ski topography.[205] Bilgeri's interest in skiing dated back nearly ten years to when he formed a ski corps after finding twenty pairs of skis in the barracks in Hall.[206] Bilgeri's visit spurred interest among the Kitzbühel youth, who brought a certain Norwegian atmosphere to the village by making the ski ever-present.[207] In 1906, the German and Austrian Alpine Club recognized Kitzbühel as a ski destination when it arranged for Willi Rickmer Rickmers to teach a mountain guides course there.[208] Around this same time, Viktor Sohm, a banker from Bregenz, a town in far western Austria, began offering Norwegian cross-country and ski-jumping classes on holidays and weekends.[209] It is unclear who attended the classes, but considering Sohm's work with youth in other parts of the Tyrol, notably the future ski teacher Hannes Schneider, it is likely that a number of Kitzbühel's adolescents were in his classes.[210]

Notable skiers also provided free advertising for Kitzbühel. This case is best illustrated by Willi Rickmer Rickmers, a member of a wealthy German shipping family who had skied in numerous resorts in Switzerland where he taught hundreds of British to ski. Rickmers was also a published authority on skiing, having co-authored in 1905 an English-language book on skiing entitled *Ski-Running*.[211] Rickmers thus had considerable influence among the wealthy British

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201 "Erstes Wintersport-fest in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 7, no. 4 (January 22, 1905): 1-2.
202 "Wintersportfest in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 52 (1904): 4.
203 "Kitzbüheler Wintersportfest," *Kitzbühler Bezirk Bote* 9, no. 2 (1907): 2.
204 "Erstes Wintersport-fest in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 7, no. 4 (January 22, 1905): 1-2.
205 "Militär-Skitour," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 6, no. 10 (March 6, 1904):1-2.
206 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 128.
207 "Militär-Skiwettlauf in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 7, no. 8 (February 19, 1905), 1-2.
208 "Skikurs für Bergührer," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8, no. 9 (1906), 2; "Kitzbühel (Beendigung eines Skikurses)," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8, no. 10 (1906), 3.
209 "Skisport in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8, no. 7 (1906), 2. For a brief biography of Sohm, see "Altmeister Victor Sohm," *Sport in Winter* 1, no. 7 (February 1, 1933), 97-98.
210 For information on Sohm's interactions with Schneider, see Gerard Fairlie, *Flight without Wings: The Biography of Hannes Schneider* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1957), 28.
211 In the book's preface, written in 1905, E. C. Richardson notes that the first edition of *Ski-running* appeared two years before. I have been unable to find a copy verifying the exact publication date. D.M.M. Crichton Summerville, W.R. Rickmers, and E.C. Richardson, *Ski-running*, 2nd ed. (London: Horace Cox, 1907), [iii].

skiers in Switzerland. This fact was not lost on Franz Reisch, who asked Rickmers if he would be willing to encourage some of his former English pupils to visit Kitzbühel. Rickmers did just that, and in 1907 a group of thirty English men and women arrived in Kitzbühel, where they stayed at Reisch's inn and took ski lessons from Rickmers.[212] Two years later, the Ski Club of Great Britain held a gathering in Kitzbühel, thus establishing the town as a ski resort for the British.[213]

WWI, Hannes Schneider, and Ski Instruction

Although it never equaled the status of the Swiss resorts like Davos before World War I, Kitzbühel by 1914 had successfully secured a reputation as a winter sports resort. It had flooded pastures to create ice rinks and carved tracks of snow on its hillsides to serve as toboggan tracks. The tiny village had also marked itself as a Norwegian-style ski destination by staging festivals, races, and ski lessons according to the Norwegian method. Despite all of these measures, Kitzbühel was just another winter sports resort that was trying to imitate the Swiss resort model. It is likely that Kitzbühel and other Austrian resorts would have remained mere imitators of Swiss resorts save for the events of WWI.

The Great War was a turning point in alpine tourism because it simultaneously decimated alpine economies while encouraging the spread of winter sports like skiing. In Switzerland, hotel owners responded to the outbreak of the war and the corresponding slump in visitor numbers by lowering room prices.[214] Many hotels, though, remained virtually empty and ended up housing prisoners of war instead of paying guests.[215] Austria not only witnessed a downturn in the tourist economy, but it also had to contend with the mobilization of many of its men for war. Far from serving as leisure retreats, places such as Kitzbühel were essentially transformed into convalescent centers for soldiers.[216]

World War I certainly damaged the emerging tourist economies in the Alps, but war mobilization also provided a great leap forward in ski instruction. Among the Austrian men activated by the onset of war was Hannes Schneider, a renowned skier who had served as a ski instructor in St. Anton am Arlberg since 1907.[217] Schneider's interest in skiing had been sparked by watching Viktor Sohm ski on the hills surrounding Schneider's village of Stuben. After watching Sohm ski, Schneider approached a local sled maker to see if he could fashion some boards like those Sohm used to ascend and descend the hills. Equipped with four-foot long skis crafted out of discarded wood, Schneider became quite proficient at skiing the hills behind his father's barn. Unable to turn or stop, though, Schneider often arrested his speed by skiing into a pile of hay inside the barn.[218]

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[212] *Kitzbühel Anzeiger*, August 25, 1951.
[213] Rickmer Rickmers, "Erinnerungen an den Ausstieg Kitzbühels zum Weltskiplatz," *Kitzbüheler Anzeiger*, September 1, 1951.
[214] Tissot, "Tourism in Austrian and Switzerland," in *Economic Crises and Rstructuring in History: Experiences of Small Countries*, 291.
[215] For reference to soldiers interred in Swiss hotels, see Arnold Lunn to his mother, 17 April 1917, Box 1, Folder 8, Sir Arnold Lunn Papers, Special Collections Division, Georgetown University Library.
[216] Wido Sieberer, "Von der agrargesellschaft," 23 in Kitzbühels Weg
[217] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 57.
[218] Ibid., 15-21.

Like any child, Schneider enjoyed sliding down the hills. Without good instruction and sound equipment, though, Schneider's skiing remained just a variation of sledding. Both were simply means of sliding straight down a hill. Around 1902 Schneider's father, who maintained the road leading over the Arlberg Pass during the winter, received a pair of factory-made skis from Austrian government to aid him in the deep snows. The new skis, which had been made in Freiburg, had a good binding and a groove in the bottom that increased the skis speed by decreasing the amount of ski surface that touched the snow.[219]

Although he had new skis, Schneider still had no real ski training. Fortunately for Schneider, Viktor Sohm continued to show an interest in the young skier and eventually invited him on a ski tour. Schneider's growing skill so impressed Sohm that he decided to teach his young pupil first the telemark turn and eventually the new Christiana turn, which was essentially a snowplow turn in which the skier put his skis in a V-Shape and turned by shifting his or her weight between his skis.[220] Instead of simply going straight downhill, Schneider would be able to manage his speed by slowly winding his way down the more precarious parts of mountain peaks.

As he grew more proficient, Schneider also began entering various ski jumping and ski racing competitions, earning a fair degree of notoriety in the process. Schneider's first races were informal contests with his friend Albert Mathies, the son of the sleigh maker who had fashioned Schneider's first skis.[221] Hannes and his friend had no other opportunities to race in any official competitions since a ski race had not been held in the Tyrol since 1895, when the Academischen Alpenclubs Innsbruck had held the Tyrol's first races. In 1904, a new era of ski racing was born when the newly formed Ski Club Arlberg staged ski races in which Hannes placed second.[222] With the encouragement of Sohm, Schneider began competing and winning competitions far from his home. At Boedele bei Dornbirn, which was about fifty miles from Schneider's village, Schneider not only won the downhill race but he also took first in the senior ski jump competition, although he was among the youngest competitors.[223]

Schneider's growing talent and skiing expertise were noted by developing winter resorts. By the time he was seventeen, in fact, Schneider had been offered a ski instructor job in Les Avants, Switzerland, a town northeast of Lake Geneva.[224] Schneider, though, accepted an offer instead from Karl Schuler, the owner of the Hotel Post in St. Anton am Arlberg, the small village where Schneider had participated in his first races.[225] Schuler lured the young Schneider with an offer of three Kroner per day as well as room and board.[226]

As a ski instructor, Schneider steadily and slowly grew the reputation of skiing in St. Anton. Initially, though, Schneider struggled to both develop a teaching method and communicate with German-speakers who were unfamiliar with his dialect.[227] Positioned along the major east-west railroad line between Switzerland and Austria, Schneider was bound to attract a bevy of pupils regardless of his pedagogical skill. Schneider's visitors eventually

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[219] Ibid., 28-29.
[220] Ibid., 30, 35.
[221] Ibid., 22.
[222] Graf, *Tiroler Sportsgeschichte*, 101; Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 33.
[223] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 46.
[224] Ibid., 53.
[225] Ibid., 32, 56.
[226] Ibid., 56.
[227] Ibid., 57-8.

included noted ski instructors like Georg Bilgeri as well as numerous aristocrats and also a fair number of German university students.[228]

Schneider's position as a ski instructor was unique in a period when Norwegians were still considered the only ones who could effectively teach skiing. In Davos, E. C. Richardson, had listed a professional Norwegian skier and local Swiss interest in skiing as the things the village really needed to create interest in the new sport.[229] Even the great skier Victor Sohm traveled seventy miles south to Lenzerheide, Switzerland, in 1905, for the chance to learn from Norwegian Lief Berg.[230]

In Hannes Schneider, however, St. Anton had someone more valuable than the itinerant Norwegian ski instructor. Schneider was not only an accomplished skier; he was a local one who could adapt skiing to the more rugged terrain of the Alps.

Schneider, though, was not the first Austrian to figure out how to adapt cross-country skiing to steep slopes. In the 1890s, Mathias Zdarsky began experimenting with skiing after reading Nansen's book. A trained engineer and gymnast, Zdarsky, at the age of 33, had taken up a solitary life in the village of Lilienfeld on the eastern edge of the Alps. It was in this setting that Zdarsky first experimented with Norwegian skis, which he found too long and cumbersome on steeper slopes. As a result, Zdarsky developed his Alpenski, a ski which was 10 centimeters shorter than typical Norwegian skis. Zdarsky's years of experimentation also compelled him in 1896 to publish *Lilienfelder Skilauftechnik* (The Lilienfeld Skiing Technique), a skiing manual that promoted Zdarsky's ski style, which featured shorter skis and the use of only one pole. Zdarsky was quite dogmatic about his technique and even fomented a controversy covered in *Der Winter* about whether the Lilienfeld or Norwegian skiing technique was better.[231] In 1907, the Austrian military even endorsed the Lilienfeld technique as its official ski method and named Zdarsky as the primary instructor.[232] Aside from training soldiers Zdarsky also taught a number of public ski courses, which *Der Winter* described as strenuous, disciplined affairs that were excellent for beginner skiers interested in touring.[233]

Like Zdarsky, Hannes Schneider also adopted the Norwegian ski and technique to his local topography. Unlike Zdarsky, who sought controlled skiing, Schneider had delighted in skiing's speed since he first strapped on skis. Once he became an instructor, Schneider developed an obsession for trying to figure out a way to help others both enjoy and manage their speed on skis. Schneider developed his technique in response to various injuries and to ever-changing snow conditions. For example, after a bad fall during his second year of instruction, Schneider was forced to ski in a crouched position. He realized that it was easier to ski with his knees bent and his weight forward instead of standing more or less upright. This discovery became the foundation of what would eventually become the famous Arlberg Crouch. Schneider began teaching this method almost immediately.[234] Roughly two years later, Schneider developed a

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228 Ibid., 59, 61, 76, 95, 98.

229 *The Davos Courier*, March 7, 1902.

230 Karl Jandl, "Von den Anfängen des sportlichen Skilaufes in Tirol," in "Festschrift zu den FIS-Wettkämpfen 1933 in Innsbruck und Tirol," 36.

231 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 126; Huntford, *Two Planks and a Passion*, 231-2.

232 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 126.

233 "III. Alpiner Ski-Kurs Garmisch-Partenkirchen," *Der Winter* 5, no. 12 (January 20, 1911), 174.

234 Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 66-7.

new turn to add to his crouching style. While skiing on hard crust, Schneider found it difficult to complete the Christiana turn until he lifted his uphill ski. What resulted was the Stem-Christie turn.[235] By spring 1910, Schneider was showing off his new technique to guests and fellow ski instructors, including Georg Bilgeri, who found Schneider's technique wanting.[236]

With the onset of World War I, Schneider was activated for military duty and was forced to cease instruction at St. Anton. Army service, though, helped rather than hindered Schneider's pedagogical skills. After spending the initial months of the war in trenches on the Russian front, Schneider and his infantry group were sent to the Dolomites to practice rock climbing and to defend the Italian border.[237] Fighting was relatively light in the Dolomites due to the terrain, climate, and the low number of troops and munitions. In fact, fighting often ceased, depending on the altitude, from roughly September to June as deep snows thwarted movement. Shells sometimes failed to explode in the snow and avalanches were often more deadly than military skirmishes. As opposed to the Western Front, most soldiers in the Dolomites accustomed themselves to long stretches of contemplative silence as large-scale battles took place further east in the plains and alpine areas bordering the Adriatic Sea.[238] When battles did occur, they were often lopsided affairs in which Austrians, who held the high ground, had the advantage on Italians storming their positions.[239]

Following a few military engagements, Schneider and his fellow soldiers were sent to the Adige Valley to recuperate.[240] One of the activities the army provided the soldiers was a rock-climbing class, which was taught by Paul Passini, a former pupil of Schneider's.[241] At some point, Passini recognized Schneider and asked his old ski teacher if he would like to become his assistant. With help from some former ski friends such as Captain Ecker who were now powerful men in the Austrian army, Schneider was assigned to teach ski mountaineering courses.[242] Unlike his courses in St. Anton, the army courses permitted none of the coddling that Schneider had been accustomed to when dealing with wealthy hotel guests. Discipline and deference were standard in the army and Schneider became more comfortable barking out orders. Although the total numbers of pupils are difficult to determine, it is likely that Schneider easily taught over 600 men to ski.[243] Schneider's popularity within the army hardly matched that of Zdarsky, who received a gold service medal from Emperor Franz Josef for instructing soldiers during the

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[235] Ibid., 71-2.
[236] Ibid., 76-77.
[237] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 107-113.
[238] On December 13, 1916, nearly 10,000 men were killed in avalanches. Mark Thompson, *The White War: Life and Death on the Italian Front, 1915-1919* (New York: Basic Books, 2008), 202-4. For information about the ecological consequences of warfare in the Alps, see Tait Keller, "The Mountains Roar: The Alps during the Great War," *Environmental History* 14, no. 2 (April 2009): 253-274.
[239] Keller, "Eternal Mountains," 120.
[240] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 107-121.
[241] Ibid., 122.
[242] Ibid., 124. In 1904, Schneider met Captain Ecker, who accompanied Victor Sohm on his ski outings from Stuben. For information on Ecker's early encounters with Schneider, see Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 36, 40-1.
[243] During the winter of 1916-17, Schneider received 150 new soldier-skierrs every three weeks. Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 125.

war.[244] Although their techniques differed, both Schneider and Zdarsky showed hundreds of men how to slide down alpine hillsides.

Agony of Defeat

Following the war, chaos reigned throughout much of Austria as thousands of soldiers tried to return home. Defeated soldiers packed into trains and even climbed atop the locomotives in desperate attempts to leave the silent battlefronts. Soon, the rail lines were strewn with the mangled bodies of soldiers who had been knocked from the tops of the trains as they entered tunnels.[245] As soldiers returned to cities like Innsbruck, they encountered massive overcrowding and a housing shortage due to the presence of occupying Italian troops and German-speaking Tyroleans who had fled the South Tyrol, which was now under Italian control.[246]

Although slow to rebound, tourism did provide considerable income for much of the Tyrol in the years immediately following the war. In 1920, in fact, visitors deposited 20 million Schillings in Tyrolean coffers.[247] The Tyrolean *Landesverkehrsrat*, an official government tourism council formed just before the war, actually facilitated tourism by connecting prospective tourists with hotels.[248] Tourists filled out an application that provided both personal data and information about the hotel at which they hoped to stay as well as the specifications for their visit. Guests submitted this application with a payment of either twelve kronen, if they were Austrian, or twenty-two, if they were foreigners. The *Landesverkehrsrat* evaluated the application and then sent it to a hotel, which contacted guests. Through this careful process, Kitzbühel counted as many as 300 guests by the early winter of 1919/20.[249] While Kitzbühel rebounded, other popular vacation spots were less resilient. In St. Anton, Hannes Schneider was forced to hunt illegally in order to eat. He did teach some of the occupying Italian soldiers to ski, but he received no compensation. With a non-existent tourist economy, Schneider eventually took a job building a hydro-electric plant. Tourism began to pick up by the end of 1919, though, when Schneider received his first guests—twelve Germans.[250]

Many Tyroleans were not nearly so enthusiastic to see the arrival of tourists in their towns. In some areas tourists were viewed as competitors for vital resources and barred from entry.[251] In 1922, citizens in Innsbruck protested the promotion of tourism. Demonstrators expressed anger that foreigners could benefit from a weak economy while locals suffered.[252] Americans paid $10 for visas that in Austria were valued at 800,000 Kronen.[253] In Kitzbühel,

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244 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 126.
245 F. L. Carsten, *The First Austrian Republic, 1918-1938: A Study Based on British and Austrian Documents* (Aldershot, England: Gower Publishing Company Limited, 1986), 4.
246 Josef Riedmann, *Das Bundesland Tirol (1918 bis 1970)*, vol. 4, *Geschichte des Landes Tirol* (Bozen: Verlagsanstalt Athesia, 1988), 797-98.
247 Schober, *Tirol*, 272.
248 For information about the formation of the *Landesverkehrsrat*, see Lässer, *100 Jahre Fremdenverkehr*, 75-6.
249 "Kitzbühel," *Der Winter* 13, no. 2 (1919/20), p. 31.
250 Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 137-40.
251 Schober, *Tirol*, 272.
252 Ibid.
253 Ibid., 273.

resources were so scarce by the end of summer 1922 that the *Gemeinde*, the local town council, posted an announcement in the city asking all tourists to leave by the first half of September.[254]

The antipathy that many Tyroleans had for tourists could not last for long. With little industrial development, the Tyrol depended heavily on tourism for employment. The importance of tourism to the Tyrolean economy was already evident by 1910, by which time tourism service jobs had overtaken industrial occupations, accounting for 24 percent of all employment in the Tyrol.[255] In the post-war period, Tyroleans relied more than ever on the leadership of men like Franz Reisch who understood how vital tourism was to the future prosperity of the cities and provinces in the Alps.

Arnold Fanck and Bergfilme

Efforts of local boosters no doubt accomplished a lot in rebuilding the defunct tourist industry. It is likely, though, that the *Berg* (mountain) films of Arnold Fanck had the greatest impact on alpine communities in the early 1920s. Fanck's films introduced urban populations mired in postwar suffering to images of pristine mountains where men and women relished the excitement of and danger associated with skiing.

A geologist by training, Fanck first dabbled with film before WWI, when he and a number of friends, including Sepp Allgeier, the cameraman for Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*, filmed a ski movie on the Monte Rosa massif in Zermatt. Fanck found the experience of both filming and watching movies thrilling and he became convinced that film, not geology, was his calling. The interruption of WWI prevented Fanck from immediately following his dreams, but once Europe returned to peace, Fanck took a job as a carpet salesman in Berlin to earn enough money to purchase a camera. Anticipating inflation, Fanck saved his money in Swiss Francs, eventually amassing a sum of 9,000 Francs. With this money, the aspiring director bought an Ernemann camera and roughly 9,900 feet (3,000 meters) of film. He then contacted Sepp Allgeier and two well-known German skiers, Dr. Ernst Baader and Dr. Bernhard Villinger, to begin making a ski film. The group initially filmed scenes on the Feldberg, a large mountain near Freiburg, Fanck's hometown.[256] When Fanck played back his film, he realized that only Baader's skiing was aesthetically appealing. Reaching out to more talented skiers, Fanck telegraphed Hannes Schneider, asking him to meet the moviemakers in Garmisch, Germany.[257] Fanck did not promise Schneider any money, but after conversations with St. Anton hotelier Walter Schuler, Schneider decided that making the film would increase business.[258] At the time,

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[254] Wido Sieberer, "Von der agrargesellschaft zur Dienstleistungsgesellschaft Kitzbühel in Pioniertagen und erster Blütezeit des Tourismus," in *Kitzbühels Weg ins 20. Jahrhundert: Von Landwirtschaft und Bergbau zu Sommerfrische und Wintersport* (Kitzbühel: Kitzbühel Sparkasse, 1999), 24.

[255] Matthias Rettenwander, "Kein Fabriksschlot verunziert den Rahmen der Landschaft: Aus dem Kitzbühler Wirtschaftsleben um 1900," in Sieberer, *Kitzbühels Weg*, 37.

[256] Arnold Fanck, "Die Fanck-Story: Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs," *Ski Welt*, no 13 (1971): 27. These articles overlap with Fanck's biography *Er führte Regie mit Gletschern Stürmen und Lawinen: Ein Filmpionier erzählt* (Munich: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1973). I originally came across the articles and relied on them for information about Fanck until I was able to obtain a copy of the biography.

[257] Fanck, "Die Fanck-Story: Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs," 27-28.

[258] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 140.

tourists interested in visiting any of Austria's mountain towns had to submit petitions to the Tyrolean government to gain permission to vacation in the region.[259] Ski films were a way to encourage people to suffer through the bureaucratic hassles.

The addition of Schneider altered what Fanck had thought possible for ski films. Schneider's skiing was just as beautiful as Fanck had heard and Fanck credited Schneider with providing the talent necessary to unleash all of his photographic skills and energy.[260] In addition, the Ernemann camera, with its ability to capture 500 frames per minute, made it possible to see Schneider's controlled, fluid style in slow motion. The advantages of slow motion had their price, though, especially in an inflationary economy. As a result, when Fanck and his crew arrived in Garmisch, they had a camera and little else to their names. To raise capital, Fanck formed the Freiburg Mountain and Sport Film Company (*Freiburger Berg- und Sportfilm Gesellschaft*). The filmmakers also had the skiers teach ski lessons to earn money. One of these aspiring skiers was a grocery wholesaler whose satisfaction with his ski lesson manifested itself as two fifty-kilogram containers of rice and a large amount of tomato puree for the hungry movie crew. Supplied with a source of calories, the cast and crew transferred the production to the Bernese Oberland in Switzerland, where they filmed the movie's final scenes.[261]

Although Fanck aspired to make films, it was ironic that he had little experience actually watching movies and therefore little understanding of what the public desired. The only film he had ever seen was the one in Zematt that he had helped create. To understand what movies looked like and how stories were told, Fanck traveled to Berlin where the autodidact imagined the movie theater as a classroom. In the process, Fanck realized his film had plenty of exciting footage but little plot. Major studios like UFA, Deuling, and Decla, arrived at the same conclusion and refused to believe their was an audience willing to sit still for an hour to watch four skiers climb up and then ski down a mountain. Discouraged, Fanck returned to Freiburg, where he decided to show his film in the Paulussaal.[262]

In Freiburg, Fanck found that people, indeed, delighted in seeing moving pictures of skiers. Freiburgers, in fact, applauded throughout the movie and were so enthusiastic by the film's end that Fanck was obliged to bow fifteen times.[263] The fervor for the film coursed throughout Germany and Austria. Without the support of a large film company, however, Fanck distributed the film by renting it to clubs, universities and other organizations.[264] In Austria, the Austrian Ski Association showed the film in the provincial capitals.[265] It was not long before the movie attracted audiences that included more than mountaineers and skiers. The movie was featured at movie theaters in Munich, where by February 1920 it had already been in the theaters for eight weeks.[266] The periodical *Lichtbildbühne* described the premiere at Berlin's Scala Palace, a venue that seated 3,000 people, as a major gala. National and local politicians attended

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[259] "Skiklub Arlberg," *Der Winter* 13, no. 4 (1919/20), p. 44.
[260] Fanck, "Die Fanck-Story: Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs," 28.
[261] Fanck, "Die Fanck-Story: Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs," 29.
[262] Fanck, *Er führte Regie mit Gletschern*, 118-119.
[263] Fanck, "Die Fanck-Story: Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs," 30.
[264] Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 144.
[265] "Österreichischer Skiverband," *Der Winter* 13, no. 11/12 (1919/1920), 161.
[266] "Das Wunder des Schneeshuhs," *Der Winter* 14, no. 4 (February 1920), 87-88.

the film. An indication of the audience's affluence was the massive parking lot of cars that formed outside the theater.[267]

"Das Wunder des Schneeshuhs" was popular because it combined fascinating skiing footage with stunning alpine landscapes. The film satisfied a longing among skiers for a movie that showcased skiing. Fanck's film, though, was not the first that had attempted to capture images of skiers. The immediate postwar saw the release of such films as "Das Ski-Girl" and "Aus Liebe gesündigt," films which failed to impress skiers with their ski scenes even though the latter film featured the skiing of a member of the Munich Academic Ski Club.[268] "Das Wunder des Schneeschuhs" and Fanck's subsequent ski films, however, revealed to the public how beautiful skiing could be. As one commentator noted, there were people who puzzled at why people forsook the dance halls and coffee houses in winter to instead spend money to strap long, uncomfortable boards to their feet so they could cut through deep snow. Such critics were silenced, however, by watching Hannes Schneider, the "German ski master," ski down untouched fields of snow.[269]

Not everyone, though, viewed the films with such awe. Some have found something more sinister in Fanck's skiing footage. In *From Caligari to Hitler*, Siegfried Kracauer argued that Fanck's *Bergfilme* were merely the building blocks of Nazi ideology as they espoused a retreat from the rational modernism of urban civilization. As Eric Rentschler has recently pointed out, Kracauer's searing critique has adhered to the *Bergfilm* genre since the publication of *From Caligari* in 1947.[270] Although provocative, Kracauer's argument suggested, incorrectly, that the films were only popular with future Nazis. No doubt they did appeal to men like Joseph Goebbels who longed for the "divine solitude and calm of the mountains, for white, virginal snow."[271] At the same time, though, the films were well received by the left-leaning press, which praised the films' cinematic beauty.[272]

The popularity of *Bergfilme*, combined with a struggling Austrian economy, made the Tyrol a particularly popular place for Germans in the postwar. English tourists to Kitzbühel noted that the town operated on German marks and that Germans made up the majority of guests at the Grand Hotel.[273] The English, too, were drawn by the cheap prices of the Tyrol, but found the area wanting in accommodations as well as predictable prices.[274]

"Schivater" Schneider and the Cult of the Ski Instructor

Increasing interest in skiing made the position of the ski instructor even more viable in the Tyrol. St. Anton certainly received incredible attention from tourists, but places like Kitzbühel benefited as well. As noted above, Kitzbühel, like many alpine towns, had offered ski

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[267] Fanck, "Das Wunder," *Ski Welt*, 29-30.
[268] "Das Ski-Girl," *Der Winter* 13, no. 9/10 (1919/20), 142.
[269] Hans Pohle, "Der Film als Sportlehrmittel," *Der Winter*, Jg. 19, no number (1925/6), 43.
[270] Eric Rentschler, "Mountains and Modernity: Relocating the *Bergfilm*," *New German Critique*, no. 51 (Autumn 1990), 143.
[271] Joseph Goebbels, *Michael*, trans. Joachim Neugroschel (New York: Amok, 1987), 70, cited in Rentschler, "Mountains and Modernity," 140.
[272] Rentschler, "Mountains and Modernity," 143.
[273] H. de Watteville, "A Winter in Tirol," *British Ski Yearbook* 1, no. 3 (1922), 329.
[274] Ibid.

instruction before the Great War. For ski instructors, villages like Kitzbühel had been particularly popular because they promised a large number of guests. Men like Victor Sohm and W. Rickmer Rickmers offered weekend courses in association with the German and Austrian Alpine Club and other organizations.[275] Colonel Georg Bilgeri had also used the Kitzbühel area to train skiing soldiers.[276] By 1907, the Kitzbühel *Wintersportsvereinigung* had made plans to have its own resident ski teachers who would have been available for the whole winter to lead ski tours.[277] Sebastian Monitzer was the first guide to work for the WSV, he taught the Zdarsky method.[278] Like Schneider, Monizter worked for a hotel. While Monitzer plied his trade for the Grand Hotel, Max Faller provided instruction at Reisch's Sport Hotel.[279] The availability of local talent, though, did not prevent Josef Herold in 1910 from luring Chappel Jacobsen, a Norwegian studying in Munich, to Kitzbühel to instruct guests. Although Norwegian, Jacobsen's style was hardly typical of his countrymen. He anticipated some of the innovations of Hannes Schneider. Rather than standing upright, he skied in a somewhat crouched position with a wide stance and performed stem-Christiana turns.[280]

Following the war, hotels remained major employers of ski instructors, but the growing popularity of both Hannes Schneider and skiing, in general, challenged the viability of the old resort model. In the immediate postwar, things picked up right where they had left off. In Kitzbühel, the Grand Hotel reestablished ski instruction under the leadership of brothers Wastl and Rudi Monitzer.[281] Three years later, Max Faller added his name to local instructors when he opened a ski school at Ernst Reisch's hotel.[282] In the winter of 1921/22, however, Hannes Schneider, having perfected his teaching techniques during the war, opened his own independent ski school in St. Anton. Schneider then guaranteed the success of his new business, and the birth of a new profession, by appearing in Fanck's movies. Schneider's technique proved popular with other instructors. Ernst Janner was among the first to adopt Schneider's technique. Janner had trained as a gymnastics teacher before the war and had offered ski courses through Innsbruck's k.k. Staatsgymnasium before he was drafted into the military. During the war, Janner served first as a lieutenant in a mountain and ski guide company and eventually rose to commander of a mountain guide company on the southern front. After the war, Janner encouraged the growth of skiing even more when he distributed over 1,000 pairs of army skis to schools and became chairman of the Austrian Ski Association's Committee for Youth Support (*Auschusses für*

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275 For visits by Sohm and Rickmers, see "Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 8, no. 5 (February 4, 1906), 1-3.

276 "Kitzbühel (Abschluss der militärischen Skiübungen)," *Kitzbüheler Bezirks Bote* 7, no. 52 (1905), 2.

277 "Wintersportverein Kitzbühel." *Verkehr und Sport* 3, no. 18 (December 1907), 50.

278 Menschengen, C. v. "Die Skischule Kitzbühel," *Der Skiläufer* 2, no. 5 (25 Februar 1932), 6. Menschengen claims that Monitzer began teaching in 1905, but I have been unable to corroborate that date. For a brief description of the Zdarsky method, see Allen, *Culture of Sport*, 126.

279 Menschengen, "Die Skischule Kitzbühel," 6-7.

280 Menschengen, "Die Skischule Kitzbühel," 6-7; "Festschrift der Skischule Kitzbühel." Supplement to *Kitzbühler Anzeiger*, 27 February 1954.

281 "Festschrift der SkiSchule Kitzbühel." Supplement to *Kitzbühler Anzeiger*, February 27, 1954.

282 Ibid.

Jugendpflege).[283] Following the war, Janner completed his doctorate in gymnastics education and began offering ski courses for gymnastics instructors at the University of Innsbruck.[284] In the winter of 1922-23, Janner used the hospice in St. Christof am Arlberg as a makeshift school.[285] The old house, which was situated on the Arlberg Pass, had been used since 1785 as a shelter for road maintenance workers and could accommodate up to fifty people. Since the construction of the Arlberg Tunnel, though, the house has lost its relevance.[286] Janner realized the house would be a perfect location for establishing a permanent course for instructing gym teachers how to teach skiing. Janner's plan appealed to the Ministry of Education (*Bundesministerium für Unterricht*), which assumed control of the hospice in 1924.[287] Although Janner had experience teaching skiing, he embraced the techniques of Hannes Schneider and even arranged with Schneider to teach some of the classes at St. Christof. In 1926, Janner published a book about the Arlberg method entitled *Die Arlbergschule*. As a result, Schneider's techniques formed the instructional foundation of what became the Federal Sports Club of St. Christof in the Arlberg (*Bundessportsheim St. Christof am Arlberg*). In the first season of instruction, Janner taught 800 individuals, including not only Austrian teachers and students but also 100 teachers and students from Germany.[288]

Along with Janner, members of the Tyrolean Ski Association (*Tiroler Schiverband*) also involved itself in creating a standard for ski instruction. In 1924, the Tyrolean Ski Instructor Association (*Tiroler Schilehrerverband*) was formed to hold qualification tests for ski instructors. The first test was held in St. Anton and included thirty participants. Hannes Schneider was among the judges chosen to evaluate the prospective ski teachers.[289]

The Arlberg technique spread through individuals as well. In 1924, the Arlberg technique finally made its impact on Kitzbühel when Sepp Hellensteiner arrived in town and opened the Arlbergskischule Hellensteiner, the first ski school that was independent of a hotel.[290] Hellensteiner had been raised in nearby St. Johann and had actually taken courses from Chappel Jacobsen in 1910. Afterward, he taught skiing at Schliersee in Bavaria.[291] In the desperate climate of postwar Austria, Hellensteiner understood that Kitzbühel offered far superior employment possibilities than other areas where he had taught.[292] Hellensteiner's entry into the ski instructor market created even more competition for guests. To create more regular business, Ernst Reisch, Franz Reisch's son, suggested that the Monitzer and Hellensteiner schools combine and offer ski courses every day of the week.[293] By 1927, a large number of instructors saw the

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[283] Friedrich Fetz and Udo Albl, *Skipionier Ernst Janner* (Vienna: ÖBV Pädagogischer Verlag, 1997), 12, 16.
[284] Fetz and Albl, *Skipionier Ernst Janner*, 16.
[285] Ibid., 27.
[286] Ibid., 24-5.
[287] Ibid., 19, 29.
[288] Ibid., 32.
[289] "Schilehrerprüfung," *Kitzbühler Nachrichten* 2, no. 50 (1925), 3.
[290] "Festschrift der Skischule Kitzbühel," 6.
[291] Wirtenberg, "Julius Moro," 204.
[292] Wirtenberg, "Julius Moro," 206.
[293] "Festschrift der Skischule Kitzbühel."

wisdom in Reisch's suggestions and united under Hellensteiner's leadership to form the Schischule Kitzbühel.[294]

Ski instruction was certainly not novel by the 1920s. What was different, though, was the importance of ski schools to tourist economies. In the interwar period, ski schools rather than hotels became the major attraction for a number of alpine economies. With larger schools, skiers could expect to arrive at any time during the winter to learn or improve their skiing. Before World War I, ski instruction was less predictable as recreation tourists had to follow a variety of instructors who traveled throughout Austria, Switzerland, and Germany teaching skiing. Viktor Sohm, Schneider's teacher, was an itinerant instructor in Austria while W. Rickmer-Rickmers taught in both Switzerland and Austria.[295] Courses, though, were often infrequent and unpredictable. Ski schools, on the other hand, allowed guests to book accommodations at a local inn, private house, or hotel without fearing whether or not they would have access to ski instruction. Whereas at the turn of the century Kitzbühel had concentrated on building large hotels to attract guests, by the 1928/29 ski season the WSV was looking to ski school courses to anchor their winter tourist economy. The WSV was particularly intrigued by Hannes Schneider's German Arlberg Courses, or DAKS (*Deutsche Arlberg Kurse Schneider*), which the German Ski Federation (*Deutsche Schiverband*) had arranged with Schneider to provide instruction to German youth. For the price of 50 Marks, young Germans received both a week of ski instruction in the Arlberg Method and housing for a week.[296] The WSV realized that such a course would likely provide economic stability for smaller private houses and inns that could not offer the glamour of the larger hotels. As a result, they set about arranging similar week or two-week ski packages that included train fare, accommodations, meals, taxes, and other fees. They thought.[297]

The* Hahnenkammbahn *and Up-hill Lifts

Hannes Schneider may have revolutionized the ski world by developing a method for helping skiers move quickly and safely downhill, but he could not solve the problem of getting uphill quickly. Skiers in the 1920s were still forced to hike up the hills to ski down them. For the recreational skier, this was certainly not a hardship. The practice hills at the base of the mountain were sufficient for them. On the practice field, one was likely to find a more social atmosphere akin to the skating rink. Only a small percentage of skiers would have had the talent and desire to tackle the tall peaks from top to bottom. Building a lift for a limited number of skiers, though, was a difficult proposal. The efforts to develop the Hahnenkammbahn in Kitzbühel illustrates this fact. A community effort, the cable-car lift was proposed as a way of extending the ski season by allowing skiers to reach the higher snow fields where the snow fell first and melted last. The earliest lifts, then, were primarily attempts to control for the unpredictability of nature.

Kitzbühel was among the leaders in developing uphill transportation because its popularity brought more money and investment to the small town, thus enabling technical innovations. In 1927 Count Franz Schlick and Max Werner erected an electric rope tow on the

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[294] Wirtenberg, "Julius Moro," 207.
[295] Rickmer Rickmers, "Erinnerungen an den Ausstieg Kitzbühels zum Weltskiplatz," *Kitzbüheler Anzeiger*, August 25, 1951.
[296] "Deutsche Arlbergskikurse," *Der Winter* 21, no. 3 (November 1926), 288.
[297] "Kitzbüheler Skikurse im Winter 1928-29." *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 5, no. 47 (17 November 1928).

Hinterbräufeld, the traditional practice hill behind the Reisch Hotel. The simple apparatus was powered by a gas engine that pulled a rope over a pair of wheels, transporting a skier to the top of the hill in 1 minute 45 seconds. Between five and six people could ride the rope-tow at time.[298] Both locals and visitors used the lift, giving the hill the atmosphere of the old ice rinks where men and women gathered en masse to see and be seen.[299]The rope-tow certainly aided beginners who no longer had to exhaust themselves by hiking up the hill in order to slide down it. For advanced and expert skiers, however, the tow held little interest.

The rope-tow was simply a novelty to more expert skiers who were attracted to the large peaks that cradled Kitzbühel. The lure of these peaks had been evident to town officials from Kitzbühel's earliest days as a winter resort. As early as 1908, the Kitzbühel town council (*Gemeinderat*) had voted to give both the land and wood for the construction of a touring cabin on the Ehrenbachhöhe, the mountain that formed the western slope of Kitzbühel.[300] Such a cabin would have allowed skiers to climb up the mountain and overnight in the cabin before descending the hill the next day. Around this same time, Franz Reisch mentioned to some the idea of building a cable car to the top of the same peak.[301] The war, though, intervened before Reisch's plans could be brought to action.

Following the war, efforts resumed to build a cable car in order to attract guests and provide a more reliable winter season. In 1925, the Ministry for Trade and Transportation (*Ministerium für Handel und Verkehr*) authorized Josef Herold and two engineers to begin planning the cableway. At the time, it was proposed that the cable car would transform a 3-hour hike to the top of the Ehrenbachhöhe into a 9.5 minute trip.[302] The local press envisioned that the tram would make Kitzbühel more competitive as a winter sports center.[303] Some figured that the Hahnenkammbahn, as it would be called, would lengthen winter by four to six weeks because it would provide access to the snowfields above town. Guests would not have to flee Kitzbühel when it began to rain or when the warm Föhn wind began to blow. Instead they could escape the valley rains by taking the cable car to the snow above. [304]

The financing of the Hahnenkammbahn was a mixture of tourist and local financing. The project got its initial financing from wealthy "German friends" of Kitzbühel who, according to the *Kitzbühler Nachrichten* financed the Kitzbühel Mountain Railway joint-stock company (*Kitzbüheler Bergbahn-Aktiensgesellschaft*).[305] Roughly a year later, the project began to run aground because of a dearth of local financing. At a meeting, Kitzbühel joined with the nearby towns of Kirchberg and Jochberg to pledge 122,000 Schillings to the project. Kitzbühel donated the vast majority of the funds, giving 100,000 Schillings.[306] Ultimately, the Kitzbühel town council provided 300,000 Schillings to the project while local businessmen raised 100,000. In

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298 "Sportaufzug," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 4, no. 6 (1927): 3.
299 Ibid.
300 "Personenseilbahn Kitzbühel-Hahnenkamm," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 2, no. 13 (1925), 3.
301 Ibid.
302 "Tagesneuigkeiten," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 2, no. 10 (1925), 3.
303 " Die Hahnenkammbahn in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 2, no 12 (March 21,1925), 1.
304 "Die Hahnenkammbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 4, no. 9 (February 26,1927), 1.
305 "Die Hahnenkammbahn in Kitzbühel," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 2, no. 12 (March 21,1925), 1.
306 "vom Hahnenkamm-Bahnbau," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 3, no. 14 (1926).

total, 650,000 Schillings were raised for the construction of the lift. This sum essentially doubled once construction began.[307]

Despite mounting costs and a series of technical problems, the Hahnenkammbahn opened officially in March 1928.[308] The *Kitzbühler Nachrichten* celebrated that guests could now travel from "Spring to Winter" aboard the cable car.[309] To experience this seasonal reversal, a skier had to pay 6 schillings. Sightseers who wished only to take in the view from the peak could purchase a roundtrip ticket for 9 schillings. Locals received a 2-schilling discount on both of these fares. Guests were also welcome to buy ten-ride passes, which cost 25 schillings for locals and 45 for foreigners. Those riders wishing to bring up a toboggan or set of skis and poles had to pay an additional half schilling.[310]

Mayor Carl Planner called the tram a "blessing," although the Hahnenkammbahn failed to initially attract the desired number of riders.[311] By December 1929, though passenger numbers began to reflect the cable car's steep trajectory. The cable car ran constantly and some skiers were actually able to make it down the mountain in time to catch a second ride. On one particular Sunday, roughly 400 people rode the tram uphill.[312] February 1930 saw the purchase of 9,966 lift tickets. Over 80 percent of the tickets were for rides up the mountain, which meant most people were skiing down.[313] The large number of riders not only produced packed ski trails but also significant revenue. From December 1929 through February 1930, the lift netted 111,000 schillings, which was 40,000 schillings more than the operation costs. Although considerable, this remaining sum did not translate into profit as the loan payment for the lift's construction was 100,000 shillings, 60,000 of which was just interest.[314]

With a lift and reputable ski school, by 1930 Kitzbühel was the paradigm of the modern ski resort. Skiers flocked to the Tyrolean town where they enrolled in ski classes and boarded the Hahnenkammbahn, which made the experience of downhill skiing as easy as boarding a trolley car. All one had to do was pay a fare and step aboard the tram. The mountains, once symbols of struggle, sacrifice, and adventure were becoming more like ice rinks and toboggan tracks. Skiers did not have to struggle up the mountains to slide down them. Nor did they face the uncertainty of snow conditions. Hundreds of people riding the lift up translated into numerous trails of packed snow. One could follow the tracks of others to find his or her way down the mountain rather than picking their way among trees, boulders, and other obstacles, all the while hoping he or she did not come to the edge of some precipice.[315] Not everyone was pleased with the new mountain developments. British ski pioneer Arnold Lunn, a man who had reveled in the adventure and uncertainty of early skiing was quite pessimistic about the advances in skiing, noting that "Today we struggle in téléferiques and funiculars as crowded as the slums of our

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[307] "Die Lebensadder hoch-Kitzbühels," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 5, no. 10 (March, 3, 1928).
[308] "Die Hahnenkammbahn eröffnet," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 5, no. 11 (March 10, 1928)
[309] "Von der Hahnenkammbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 5, no. 16 (14 April 1928).
[310] "Fahrpreis-Tarif der Hahnenkammbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 5, no. 10 (March 3, 1928).
[311] "Hahnenkammbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 6, no. 9 (February 23, 1929).
[312] "Hahnenkamm-Bahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten* 6, no. 1 (December 31, 1929).
[313] "Hahnenkammbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten*, (18 März 1930).
[314] "Unsere Bergbahn," *Kitzbüheler Nachrichten*, (22 März 1930).
[315] For an example of the helpfulness of ski tracks, see Henry B. Bigelow, "Middle-Aged Gentlemen Ski for Pleasure," *Appalachia* 20 no. 3/4 (November 1934), 320.

megalopolitan civilisation, and the surface on which we ski is nearly as hard and quite as artificial as the city pavements which mask the kindly earth."[316]

Save for the weather, ski areas were becoming predictable places. They were losing their sublime, awe-inspiring quality that had attracted the early ski mountaineers and skiers in general. In 1891 Fridtjof Nansen had written that when he was on skis "Civilization is . . . washed clean from the mind and left far behind with the city atmosphere and city life." [317] In 1930, with hundreds of people boarding the tram, solitude was no longer an option. The urban space that skiers had desired to escape had finally caught up to them.

The Austrian resort model proved appealing both in Europe and abroad. Although Switzerland was the first to develop winter sports centers, by 1930, Swiss ski instructors were coming to Austria to learn the official Austrian skiing technique. That same year, Austrian ski instructors were authorized to begin working outside Austria.[318] Departing from an era in which hotels competed against each other by offering ski instruction to their guests, St. Moritz in 1929 founded a ski school for the village. The following year, *Das Wunder des Schneeshuhs* was translated into French as *Merveilles du Ski*.[319] Austrian skiing spread not only in Europe but also to Asia and the Americas where Schneider's work was translated. In Japan, his book sold 1,100 copies by 1930.[320] Schneider, himself, visited Japan in 1930 and, using a loud speaker, taught up to 500 skiers per day over the course of a month.[321] In the United States, the *Appalachian Mountain Club* offered a translation of selections of Schneider's book in the December 1929 edition of the club's bulletin *Appalachia*.[322]

The allure of the Arlberg technique not only popularized Austrian skiing, encouraging elites and the upper middle-class to found ski clubs and arrange ski outings; it also spurred the creation of resorts. In Italy, Benito Mussolini spearheaded the founding of Terminillo, a resort that catered to the Roman public with a restaurant and hotel just two and half hours from Rome. Mussolini next set his sights on the Alps, selecting Breuil-Cervinia as the site for a téléférique. Situated on the Italian side of the Matterhorn, the new resort quickly came to imitate Austrian resorts by featuring numerous hotels and ski instructors. For Mussolini, the ski resort was a means to a healthy nation. At the time, women were excluded from certain sports because of the dangers they posed for reproduction. Skiing, though, was permissible.[323]

Whereas skiing had emerged as simply a middle-class recreation similar to ice skating and tobogganing, by the 1930s, Austrians had crafted a whole new industry around the sport. Places like Kitzbühel served as a prime example. Where there were snow-covered mountains, there was a potential for attracting tourists and mining their pockets for money. Businessmen began to invest in the new white gold. In Italy, Fiat owner Giovanni Agnelli established Sestrières in the Alps near the French border. Agnelli's new resort featured two large circular

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316 Arnold Lunn, introduction to *Mountains of Youth* (1925; London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1949), xv.
317 Nansen, *First Crossing*, 55.
318 "Die Jahreshauptversammlung der Berufs-Skilehrer Österreichs," *Kitzbühler Nachrichten*, July 12, 1930.
319 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 249.
320 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 253, 364n59.
321 Fairlie, *Flight without Wings*, 173-91. For a
322 "The Arlberg School of Skiing*,* *Appalachia* (December 1929), 369-381.
323 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 244.

hotels and two cable cars.[324] In the U.S., Averell Harriman and the Union Pacific saw the potential for new rail passengers and built Sun Valley, a destination ski resort in the middle of Idaho that featured European ski instructors, an exclusive hotel, and the world's first chairlift. What had been a Norwegian sport had become an Austrian one.

[324] Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 244.

Chapter Three
The Preservation of the "Great Race":
Winter Sport, American Youth, and the Lake Placid Club

In 1932, while the Arlberg Method and downhill skiing were spreading throughout Europe and Japan, Lake Placid, New York, became the first American town to host the Winter Olympics and the last to stage the event without the inclusion of downhill skiing. Far from a resounding success, the games were plagued by warm temperatures and rain. In fact, only four days before the opening ceremonies, Lake Placid had no snow on the ground.[1] Event organizers were forced to scour the countryside for snow, which was trucked in to create cross-country tracks.[2] Despite all the efforts of the Lake Placid Club, the organization that arranged the games, the 1932 Olympics were a financial failure. New York taxpayers contributed $600,000 and the town of North Elba, within which the village of Lake Placid was situated, gave $230,000. Gate receipts, though, netted only $93,415.[3] Lake Placid, itself, emerged from the games with a deficit of $52,000.[4] Despite the games' limited success, the praise for both the Lake Placid Club and the 1932 Olympics has persisted in much popular literature ever since. Little attention, though, has been paid to how the Lake Placid Club, a private and anti-Semitic organization, emerged to become America's preeminent haven for winter sports and the site of the country's first Olympic Games.[5] Answering this question is important because it offers insight into how American attitudes changed toward winter thus allowing mountains and snow to become symbols of leisure and recreation. Furthermore, pursuing this question helps us understand how Americans first understood and justified winter vacations—an aspect of American life that has become commonplace. This chapter examines how middle-class concerns for health and racial vigor combined with a collegiate sporting culture to transform the Lake Placid Club into America's first modern winter sports center. Originally envisioned as a refuge from modern, urban life where one could view beautiful scenery and breathe cold, clean air, Lake Placid developed into a location where white, middle-class WASPs flocked to find vigor and promote reproduction of the "Great Race."

Winter Carnivals and Muscular Christianity

Snow at the dawn of the twentieth century was anything but pleasant for urban Americans. Heavy snowfall disrupted light and power, knocked out telephone service, and halted

[1] George Christian Ortloff and Stephen C. Ortloff, *Lake Placid, The Olympic Years, 1932-1980: A Portrait of America's Premier Winter Resort* (Lake Placid: Macromedia, Inc., 1976), 91.
[2] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiiing,* 95.
[3] Ibid.
[4] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, (March-February 1932).
[5] For a history of the Lake Placid Club, see Lee Manchester, ed., *The Lake Placid Club, 1890-2002* (Saranac Lake, New York: Adirondack Publishing Company, 2003) and David H. Ackerman, *Lake Placid Club: An Illustrated History, 1895-1980* (Lake Placid, New York: Lake Placid Education Foundation, 1998). For a history of the Olympic Games, see Ortloff and *Lake Placid, The Olympic Years, 1932-1980*. For background on the village of Lake Placid and the town of North Elba, see Mary MacKenzie, *Lake Placid and North Elba: A History, 1800-2000* (Lake Placid: The Bookstore Plus, 2002).

transportation.[6] It mocked the idea that humans could master nature during a period when it appeared that Americans were overcoming natural obstacles by leveling landscapes with railroads and changing night into day with electricity.[7] Snow not only terrorized the city, it also threatened the very health of individuals as heavy snows left the streets muddy and putrid.[8] Snow was also costly as municipalities were shouldered with the responsibility of removing it from streets. The city of Buffalo, for example, spent $15,000 in 1909 for primarily clearing crosswalks and removing snow mounds from intersections. Costs doubled the following year due to heavy storms in January and February.[9]

Not all North American urban residents recoiled at the sight of snowflakes. In Montreal, middle-class men recognized that the Indian snowshoe presented new recreational opportunities amidst the snow and the cold. It is unclear why these men embraced the snowshoe, but it is likely they did it as a means of counteracting the enervating nature of their jobs.

Among the earliest groups to see snowfall as a reason for social gatherings was the Montreal Snow Shoe Club (MSSC), which was formed in 1843 to facilitate regular snowshoe "tramps" through the surrounding woods. Although primarily interested in the social camaraderie, the elite club reveled in competition from its earliest days. The group's initial races featured contests against American Indians, who, although the inventors of the snowshoe, finished behind their white competitors.[10]

The snowshoers in the MSSC were typical of upper-class men who engaged in sport throughout North America in the mid-nineteenth century. Like men in New York City who gathered at taverns to engage in shooting contests and horse races, snowshoers reveled in their homosocial gatherings and punctuated their tramps with drinking sessions at taverns and hotels where they boasted in song about their appeal to beautiful women.[11]

Despite the similar social habits and an abundance of snow in America's northeastern cities, snowshoeing remained a Canadian hobby. For Americans, winter outdoor recreation did not grab popular attention until the 1860s, and even then it usually consisted of only ice skating or sleighing. The latter activity garnered popularity as a courting ritual for men and women and primarily took place on Sundays when there were more horses available.[12] Skating served as a sort of mating ritual as well, especially after the Civil War when it became socially permissible for women to ice skate. The construction of an ice rink in Central Park during the 1858-59 winter established the sport as one of the more popular in New York City. In 1860, it was estimated that around 12,000 people frequented the rink daily. By 1866, this number had grown to 20,000.

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[6] Bernard Mergen, *Snow in America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997): 54, 57.

[7] The Blizzard of 1888 in New York City is a good example of how a snowstorm could render a city helpless. Mergen, *Snow in America*, 35-6.

[8] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 58-59.

[9] Blake McKelvey, *Snow in the Cities: A History of America's Urban Response* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 1995), 77.

[10] Don Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe: A Study of the Evolution of Sport in Nineteenth Century Montreal," *Journal of Sport History* 15, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 7-8.

[11] Steven A. Reiss, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 15-19; Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 11-12.

[12] Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820-70* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986), 256.

Aiding this growth was the large number of skate manufacturers who produced $30 skates for the leisure consumer but also offered a number of cheaper varieties that put the sport within reach of most New York City residents.[13] Enthusiasm for ice skating even infected Montreal, where by 1863 there were two indoor rinks and a number of outdoor skating surfaces. In fact, the MSSC attributed the decline in its membership during the early 1860s to ice skating's ascension.[14] In both the United States and Canada, skaters formed clubs and national organizations to oversee the standardization of figure skating competitions. Around 1870, the New York Skating Club joined with the Empire Skating Club to create the American Skating Congress.[15] Eight years later, Canadian skaters gathered in Montreal to form the Amateur Skating Association of Canada.[16]

For the most part, members of skating and snowshoe clubs concerned themselves mainly with staging competitions and standardizing rules. In Montreal, however, the MSSC began to see itself as a civic organization that not only provided healthy exercise for its members but also served the community. The trend toward civic involvement was not necessarily a natural one for the MSSC. During the 1870s, recreational snowshoeing was supplanted in popularity by snowshoe races. Staged in heats with multiple participants, snowshoe contests attracted gamblers who relied on newspapers like the *Montreal Gazette* for race cards and other information to aid them in their wagers.[17] Despite the increasing perception of snowshoeing as a commercialized sport, the MSSC persisted in promoting snowshoeing as an activity for men of dignity and decorum. In 1869, the club adopted an official uniform that consisted of a blue tuque and a blanket coat featuring red, white, and blue colored ribbons.[18] In the mid-1870s the club, which had always abstained from spirits and wine, banned beer from its meetings.[19] Beginning in 1873, the MSSC also began holding concerts to raise money for the local charitable hospital. Dressed in their tramping uniforms, MSSC members regaled crowds with songs, piano solos, and readings from noted authors.[20] The club's concerts became annual affairs that secured the MSSC a prominent role in Montreal society.[21]

The success of the winter concerts encouraged the development of even larger winter celebrations by the 1880s. In 1882, R.D. McGibbon, the vice president of the MSSC, suggested at a club banquet that Montreal hold a winter sports festival to publicize the excitement of a Canadian winter. McGibbon's realized his vision when the MSSC coordinated with an assortment of Montreal sporting clubs to stage a week-long event, which the Marquis of Lorne, the Governor General of Canada, helped promote.[22]

The Montreal Winter Carnival was more than an event to attract visitors to Montreal, it was also something that proved that Montreal was a prosperous and moral city. A city that could

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[13] Adelman, *Sporting Time*, 257.
[14] Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 15, 15n37.
[15] Adelman, *Sporting Time*, 258.
[16] Hines, *Figure Skating*, 55.
[17] Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 18, 27.
[18] Ibid., 28.
[19] Ibid., 30.
[20] Ibid., 34.
[21] Ibid., 35.
[22] Ibid., 36; Fred Anderes and Ann Agranoff, *Ice Palaces* (New York, New York: Abbeville Press, 1983), 24.

dedicate itself to building sporting venues and ice sculptures was clearly a place of conspicuous wealth and leisure.[23] The central feature of the carnival was the ice palace, a structure composed of 10,000 blocks of ice, each measuring roughly forty by twenty inches and weighing 500 pounds.[24] Architect A.C. Hutchison arranged the ice blocks into four fifty-foot perimeter towers with a ninety-foot tower rising from the center. At night, sixteen electric lights illuminated the frozen towers and walls.[25] Although the palace had no function other than as a winter spectacle, it nevertheless suggested the financial health of Montreal, which could afford to pay men to build castles out of frozen water.[26] Festival visitors not only admired the frozen palace but also enjoyed watching people participate in snowshoeing, tobogganing, ice skating, and curling. There was even a parade of decorated sleighs.[27] For the carnival's final night of entertainment, festival organizers arranged a mock battle in which 1,600 snowshoers descended on the palace to overtake it.[28] The event was a huge success and drew an estimated 15,000 foreign visitors, who not only filled the city's hotels but also paid high prices for lodging in private homes.[29]

Montreal's winter carnival served as a model for other snowbound cities that sought to fight the stigma that they were dangerously cold places. When a smallpox epidemic forced the cancellation of the 1886 event in Montreal, city boosters in St. Paul, Minnesota, saw an opportunity to capitalize on Montreal's success and arranged their own festival, hiring the very same architect, A.C. Hutchinson, to design an ice palace. For the St. Paul business community, the carnival was a perfect opportunity to promote the city, which, although the third largest rail center at the time, struggled with its image as an inhospitably cold place.[30] To alter public perception as some polar outpost, St. Paul organizers essentially reproduced the Montreal carnival by arranging a parade as well as tobogganing and skating events. The carnival also had its own Nordic battle scene that featured a Fire King and his minions who attacked the ice palace.[31] In all, the event attracted sixty-two sporting clubs comprising 4,740 participants. An estimated 50,000 people, only 20,000 of whom were locals, visited the carnival.[32] St. Paul was not the only snowbelt city to copy Montreal. In 1888, city officials in Albany, New York, staged their own winter carnival that featured an ice castle as well as sporting events such as

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[23] The ice carnival was a perfect place for people to indulge in Thorstein Veblen's definition of leisure as "non-productive consumption of time" in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33.
[24] Anderes, *Ice Palaces*, 25; Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 36.
[25] Anderes, *Ice Palaces*, 27.
[26] The workers who created the ice palace might be compared to servants who perform viacarious leisure for a master who has the means to display his wealth through paying people to do non-productive activities. See Veblen, *Theory of the Leisure Class*, 43.
[27] Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 36.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Anderes, *Ice Palaces*, 25.
[30] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 87. St. Paul's reputation is borne out by fact. According to weather data for the years 1859-70, the mean temperature in St. Paul from December thru February was 14.6 °F. David M. Ludlum, *Early American Winters II, 1821-1870* (Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1968), 212.
[31] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 89.
[32] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 90.

bobsledding, which took place down one of the town's steeper avenues.[33] For Albany and St. Paul, winter carnivals served an important function for dispelling the notion that winter was a time of commercial and social hibernation. In this way, carnival organizers hoped to attract both investors and visitors who might become new city residents.

Saranac Lake and the Winter Health Tourist

Winter carnivals changed the perception of the urban winter and created a small amount of winter tourist traffic for snowbound cities. Interest seeing ice palaces or curious winter sports had a limited appeal. For the most part, snow and ice remained deterrents for travelers. It was a concern for one's health, not urban amusement, that encouraged Americans to embrace the idea of spending their leisure time in the snowbelt.

One can trace the origins of health tourism to the first half of the nineteenth century when wealthy Americans began to first seek out healthy water and air, spurring the development of seaside and mineral springs resorts.[34] As cities such as New York mushroomed in size creating a large business and professional class, doctors began to notice an alarming number of people who complained of sleeplessness, anxiety, and fatigue as well as head and back pain. Like their European counterparts, American urban dwellers who sought a respite from the stressful, enervating city escaped to the forests and mountains to convalesce. Among the earliest to popularize this treatment was Joel T. Headley, who in 1849 published *The Adirondack; or, Life in the Woods*, a book that described the mental and physical benefits of visiting the forest.[35] Five years later, Henry David Thoreau published his similarly titled, though far more popular volume *Walden; or, Life in the Woods*.[36] In the following years, numerous writers echoed Headley's sentiments about New York's northern mountains. None did this better than William H. H. Murray, a minister at the Park Street Congregational Church in Boston. Murray's book, *Adventure in the Wilderness, or Camp-Life in the Adirondacks*, depicted the forest air as an actual tonic for disease. According to Murray, many far-advanced tuberculosis sufferers had miraculously "found renewal of life and health" in the high mountains where they breathed "air odorous with the smell of pine and cedar and balsam, and absolutely free from the least taint of impurity."[37] Murray's description of the forest as a healer caused a sensation and critics attacked him for suggesting that weary and sick individuals journey into forests that were fit only for the robust sportsman.[38] Despite the harangues of critics, curious travelers persisted in journeying to the Adirondacks to breathe the fresh air. Joseph W. Stickler was one of those who decided to take a chance on visiting the Adirondacks to see how it affected his bronchitis. What he discovered were large numbers of people who claimed to have been cured by the Adirondack

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[33] McKelvey, *Snow in the Cities*, 54.
[34] For further discussion about the emergence of health tourism, see Cindy S. Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacationing in the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 18-22.
[35] Philip G. Terrie, *Contested Terrain: A New History of Nature and People in the Adirondacks* (Blue Mountain Lake, New York: The Adirondack Museum, 2008), 45.
[36] Henry D. Thoreau *Walden; or, Life in the Woods* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1854).
[37] William H. H. Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-Life in the Adirondacks* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co., 1869), 12, 51.
[38] Alfred L. Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, vol. 1 (New York: The Century Co., 1921), 192-3.

climate. Stickler was so moved by his experiences that in 1886 he published *The Adirondacks as a Health Resort*, a book that contained testimonials from former invalids and doctors about the salubriousness of the Adirondacks.[39]

The words of Stickler and Murray drew attention to the Adirondack's healthy climate, but it was not until the advent of Edward L. Trudeau that winter mountain air also became a prescription for treating tuberculosis and other diseases. Trudeau's interest in nature and wilderness was very typical of the upper class to which he belonged. After spending his adolescent years in Paris, Trudeau and his family moved back to the United States where Trudeau accustomed himself to spending his winters in New York City and his summers at a country estate in the Hudson River Valley.[40] During his early adult years, Trudeau ventured further north with friends to visit the Adirondacks, where he indulged in the upper-class recreations of hunting and fishing.[41] When doctors diagnosed him with tuberculosis in 1873, the young doctor, who had himself recently earned a degree in medicine from the College of Physicians and Nurses in New York, was devastated and became convinced that "the most fatal of diseases" would cut his life short.[42] To alleviate his anxiety as well as enjoy what time he had left, Trudeau retreated to a place that made him happy—the Adirondack Mountains. According to Trudeau, these high peaks in northern New York were the perfect place for someone in his state because they offered the "novelty of the free and wild life."[43]

During the summer of 1873, Trudeau rented a room at the Paul Smith's, an exclusive hunting lodge, and indulged in a life of leisure, spending his days in a canoe, from which he either fished or simply took in the sights while being rowed across St. Regis Lake by one of the inn's hunting guides.[44] When winter came, Trudeau's doctors recommended a change of scenery, sending him to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he was promised he would enjoy an abundance of sunny winter days. St. Paul was a disappointment, though, and Trudeau's health only worsened along the banks of the Mississippi. As a result, Trudeau returned the following spring to Paul Smith's.[45] Frustrated with his persistent poor health, Trudeau remarked to Dr. Alfred Loomis, following the latter's medical examination, that he was tired of moving about and wished only to remain in the Adirondacks through the winter. Loomis, who was also a guest at Paul Smith's, indulged Trudeau and recommended that he remain in the mountains.[46] According to Trudeau, no "outsider" had ever wintered at Paul Smith's, and the inn's proprietor was reluctant to allow such a sick individual to stay through the harsh winter.[47] Thanks to his wife's persuasive

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[39] Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, 1:266.
[40] Edward Livingston Trudeau, *An Autobiography* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday Page and Company, 1916), 8, 15-25.
[41] Trudeau, *An Autobiography*, 78. For more on the emergence of fishing as a recreation see Colleen J. Sheeny, "American Angling: The Rise of Urbanism and the Romance of the Rod and Reel," 77-92 in Grover, *Hard at Play*.
[42] Ibid., 71.
[43] Ibid., 78.
[44] Ibid., 80, 89.
[45] Ibid., 97, 99.
[46] Ibid., 99.
[47] Ibid., 108.

abilities, Trudeau received permission for himself and his family to experience an Adirondack winter.[48]

Winter in the Adirondacks proved strikingly similar to life in the summer. When healthy, Trudeau dedicated his days to the usual recreation of hunting and fishing in addition to pursuing new activities such as "coasting" and "snow-balling."[49] Although Trudeau's family enjoyed winter life at the lodge, Paul Smith foresaw little economic incentive in keeping the inn open the following winter and Trudeau was forced to seek new accommodations.[50]

After some searching, the Trudeaus settled on Saranac Lake, New York, a small village populated primarily by hunting guides, one of whom had a home that could accommodate the Trudeau family. Far from just relaxing, Trudeau began practicing medicine again, this time treating tuberculosis patients referred by Dr. Loomis.[51] For the most part, though, Trudeau spent his days hunting with the local guides.[52]

Trudeau's life of recreation and leisure began to change in 1882 when he read an article in the *English Practitioner* about the tuberculosis treatments and sanitariums of Hermann Brehmer and Peter Dettweiler.[53] The simple treatment regimen of the two German doctors, which involved rest, exposure to fresh air, and daily supervision by a physician, impressed Trudeau, who began to envision a tuberculosis sanitarium in Saranac Lake that might be dedicated to helping the urban poor.[54] To raise money for his sanitarium, Trudeau approached the wealthier patients he attended to during the summers at Paul Smith's.[55] He also canvassed for money on a trip to New York. Though people donated money, Trudeau remembered encountering significant skepticism about the logic of gathering a group of sick and dying invalids in a small town in the Adirondacks, forty-two miles from a railroad.[56]

Trudeau's vision was very much in accord with developments in urban areas where an inchoate sanitary movement was beginning to coalesce. Urban reformers, particularly after the Civil War, identified tenement houses and other residences of the poor as the refuge and source of urban disease, particularly impure air, which they believed wafted out of tenement buildings and into the homes of the rich who then fell ill.[57] The fear of impure air caused Americans to view carpets as unhealthy, dust-collecting furnishings. Wallpaper, too, was targeted as a threat to healthy because of how it collected dirt. Some physiologists even pointed to the bedroom as an unhealthy place because they believed that the air people exhaled was unhealthy. As a result, ventilation became a popular idea and people who could afford homes were encouraged to buy ones with a multitude of windows.[58]

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[48] Ibid., 101.
[49] Ibid., 108.
[50] Ibid., 121.
[51] Ibid., 123-4.
[52] Ibid., 137.
[53] Ibid., 154.
[54] Ibid., 154-5.
[55] Ibid., 158.
[56] Ibid., 160-3.
[57] Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 107-8.
[58] Green, *Fit for America,* 113-123.

Trudeau's vision for his sanitarium addressed the fears about urban housing and contagion. Rather than erecting a large hotel reminiscent of a tenement house, Trudeau planned a series of cottages that gave each patient some space and freedom from close contact with strangers.[59] The philosophy of keeping patients in numerous cottages was prescient considering that the German doctor Robert Koch had revealed in 1882 that tuberculosis was a communicable disease.[60] After Trudeau received a translated copy of Koch's "The Etiology of Tuberculosis," he was emboldened in his commitment to keep patients in separate cottages. Koch's research also inspired Trudeau to begin conducting research in hope of identifying the actual bacteria by which tuberculosis spread.[61]

Trudeau's treatment method was essentially a prescription for a vacation. Under his supervision, a tuberculosis sufferer came to Saranac Lake to sit outdoors and simply breathe the healthy air, whose "effect is felt and seen, but hard to explain."[62] Trudeau defended his treatment regimen with simple experiments on rabbits that showed that rabbits left to roam free were healthier than those that were confined to cramped, poorly ventilated spaces.[63] As a facility for both tuberculosis research and care, Trudeau's Adirondack Cottage Sanitarium thrived over the following years.[64]

As in Davos, Switzerland, where the treatment regimen of Alexander Spengler laid the foundation for a new economy in the forgotten mountain valley, Trudeau's sanitarium also encouraged the economic blossoming of Saranac Lake and the surrounding region. By 1894, Saranac Lake, which in 1856 had been a village of fifteen families, had become home to 1,500 residents and 400 invalids.[65] What had once been an outpost for mountain guides was now a "Cottage Sanitarium on a very large scale."[66] In 1892, the town became the first incorporated village in the Adirondacks. Five years later, three invalids from New York founded the Adirondack National Bank, the town's first national bank.[67]

The economic growth of Saranac Lake created new health concerns. An abundance of white collar jobs in banks and laboratories meant that Saranac Lake, itself, was becoming home to a group of individuals who worked more than they played. To encourage the health of non-invalids, Trudeau, in 1896, helped found the Pontiac Club, a sporting organization over which he presided. Committed to promoting outdoor sports, the club purchased a piece of property on the shore of Lake Flower where they created an ice rink large enough for hockey matches and speed skating events.[68] Hockey provided a winter compliment to team sports like football and baseball, which were popular among both the middle and upper classes for both conditioning the body as

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[59] Trudeau, *An Autobiography*, 168.
[60] Smith, *Retreat*, 48.
[61] Trudeau, *An Autobiography*, 175-6.
[62] *Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks: The North Woods City of Health and Opportunity, Mid-Winter Carnival* (Saranac Lake: J. J. Connors and R. D. McCartie, 1909).
[63] Trudeau*, An Autobiography*, 205, 207.
[64] Trudeau, *An Autobiography*, 169.
[65] Donaldson, *A History of the Adirondacks*, 227; "Adirondack Air: A Winter Health Resort," *Keeseville (NY) Herald*, December 13, 1894.
[66] *Saranac Lake in the Adirondacks, The north woods city of Health and Opportunity, Mid-Winter Carnival* (Saranac Lake, NY: J. J. Connors and R. D. McCartie, 1909).
[67] Donaldson, *History of the Adirondacks*, 236.
[68] "Pontiac Club Began Winter Traditions," *Adirondack Daily Enterprise*, February 11, 1989.

well as encouraging competition and a team spirit.[69] Speed skating, too, appealed to a populace that was beginning to enjoy the speed and entertainment of bicycle races.[70]

As in Montreal, the Pontiac Club branded winter as a healthy time of year in which hearty people socialized outdoors. During its first winter of activity, the club staged a costume carnival, which attracted nearly 300 men, women, and children. As part of the carnival, the club held a hockey match that drew a crowd of 200.[71] The following year the club tried a more ambitious project by staging the Pontiac Club Carnival, essentially an imitation of the carnival in Montreal, which was a little over 100 miles to the north.[72] To attract visitors, the club commissioned the building of an ice palace and arranged snowshoe and skating races as well as a costume carnival on skates, and a parade of sleighs. As at the Montreal and St. Paul carnivals, the Saranac Lake event even featured a pyrotechnic display to coincide with the attack of marauders.[73] By 1901, the club had hired architects from New York City to design the ice palace and had arranged the construction of a triumphal arch made of evergreens. The festival had also become more than a club event as local residents participated in festivities by decorating their homes with bunting and flags.[74] Like the large urban events, the Saranac Lake parade, too, had become a means of celebrating both local business and commerce. In addition to a procession of 100 guides from the Adirondacks Guide's Association, the parade featured floats by both the local blacksmith and butcher who displayed their respective wares.[75]

The Lake Placid Club and the Winter Alpine Vacation

As Saranac Lake grew in prominence, so did interest and access to surrounding villages. One of the towns to be affected by this tourist boom was Lake Placid, a village situated ten miles east of Saranac Lake. In 1893 the railroad was extended from Saranac Lake to Lake Placid. That same year Melvil Dewey, the State Librarian of New York and creator of the Dewey Decimal System, invited a select group of friends to join him in forming an exclusive club at Lake Placid. Invitees included William B. Knowland, treasurer of *Outlook Magazine*; Ira A. Place, counsel for the New York Central Railroad; and J. Lawrence Laughlin, professor of economics at the University of Chicago; among others.[76]

The club, which was first known as the Placid Park Club, was envisioned as "an ideal summer home in ideal surroundings."[77] To this end, the club denied entrance to anyone to "whom there can be any reasonable physical, social, or race objection."[78] In an obvious reference to Saranac Lake, the club explicitly stated that it would exclude "absolutely all consumptives or

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[69] Green, *Fit for America*, 233; Reiss, *City Games*, 56, 67.
[70] For more on the advent of cycling in America, see Reiss, *City Games*, 62-5.
[71] *Essex County (NY) Republican*, February 25, 1897.
[72] "Pontiac Club Began Winter Traditions;" Stephen Chalmers, "The Glory of the White Gods," *The Outing Magazine* 61, no. 4 (January 1913), 457.
[73] "Ice Carnival at Saranac Lake," *Essex County (NY) Republican*, January 6, 1898.
[74] Frederick A. Talbot, "The Ice Carnival of Saranac," *The Strand Magazine* (June 1901): 508.
[75] Talbot, "Ice Carnival of Saranac," 510.
[76] Ackerman, *Lake Placid Club*, 17. Other exclusive Adirondack clubs included the Adirondack Club, founded in 1876, and the Adirondack League Club created in 1890. Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 119-20.
[77] Unnamed publication quoted in Ackerman, *Lake Placid Club*, 18.
[78] Ibid.

other invalids whose presence might endanger the health or modify the freedom or enjoyment of other members."[79] Such restrictions were not unusual among other clubs and hotels in the area.[80]

In 1904, six years after Saranac Lake's first winter festival, the Lake Placid Club took its first steps to becoming a year-round resort when eight club members visited the club in winter. To entertain themselves, the group brought primitive skis and poles as well as skates and toboggans, which they used to coast down the slopes of the club's golf course. The group, though, encountered problems trying to find suitable ice for skating. The surface of Mirror Lake beckoned the skaters, but skating was impossible until the group cleared the ice of snow. Regardless of the difficulties, club members showed that health-giving activities could be pursued at the club in the winter.[81]

Although Lake Placid's first winter visitors could attest to the fun to be had at the club during the winter, their accounts were hardly enough to lure people onto trains to travel north to a place where there was more snow than in the cities. Unlike Saranac Lake, which attracted desperate invalids, Lake Placid had to appeal to healthy club members who might not be encouraged to spend a winter amidst freezing temperatures to regain their health. Promoting outdoor sports was not the most effective way to accomplish this goal.

To attract winter visitors, the club essentially marketed itself as Saranac Lake without invalids. For the first ten years that the Lake Placid Club provided a winter season, it touted the health advantages of winter air as foremost among the Adirondack attractions. The club's newsletter contained advice from doctors who advised patients that an Adirondack winter would fortify them better than a warm, southern beach vacation.[82] In 1908, the club even cited information from the famous Battle Creek Sanitarium in Michigan, claiming that "winter is the healthiest season of the year" because summer's germs were either frozen or buried under the snow. A visitor did not have to worry about winter winds stirring up airborne irritants from decaying plants and animals. Rather, they could count on "nothing but pure, vitalizing, invigorating air; [and] crisp, dry, blood-purifying, tissue-renovating oxygen."[83] Those who suffered from seasonal allergies such as hay fever even asserted that Lake Placid was the "safest refuge yet found."[84] The air not only felt less harsh, but it also smelled delightful because it was "laden with the subtle influence of balsams."[85] In Lake Placid, the "atmosphere is delicious . . . [and] so like champagne that [one] wonders if it is quite the air for temperate lungs."[86] To make it easier for guests to enjoy the outdoors, the club offered sleigh rides. For a modest fee of between $.25 and $.50, guests could take rides with up to fifteen people.[87] Guests wrapped themselves in grizzly-bear robes measuring six feet in width and enjoyed journeys of anywhere

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Terrie, *Contested Terrain*, 121.
[81] Godfrey Dewey, "50 Years of Club Winter Sports," talk notes, December 30, 1954, Lake Placid Club Archives, Lake Placid Public Library, Lake Placid, New York.
[82] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, July 1905.
[83] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1908.
[84] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 15, 1908.
[85] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 20, 1908.
[86] *Christian Union*, February 9, 1888, quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 20, 1908.
[87] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 14 (December 26, 1907).

between five and twenty miles.[88] Borrowing from an article in the *Saturday Evening Post*, the *Club Notes* asserted that the cold air not only kept one free from allergens, but that it shocked the body and forced it to exercise, presumably to stay warm. In the process, the body eliminated useless tissue.[89] The comparison of winter air to electric shock was an effective way of convincing Americans to visit Lake Placid. After all, between 1890 and 1930, electric shock began to earn a reputation for both curing the body of ailments and enhancing health and vitality.[90]

Although the club promoted the air as a healthy "tonic," it was not purely interested in attracting the health-minded vacationer. The club highlighted attractions that appealed to the leisure tourist who sought a pleasant place with nice scenery. Since the 1820s, wealthy urbanites had traveled north up the Hudson River Valley to Albany as part of the "fashionable tour," which often culminated with a visit to scenic attractions such as Niagara Falls.[91] Viewing scenery, thus, was associated with refinement and upper-class pursuits. The problem with winter scenery, though, was that there was little appreciation for it. American landscape painters had made a living by painting summer scenes in the mountains. This mono-seasonal view owed itself to the English art critic John Ruskin who had provided Americans with the language and appreciation for summer alpine scenery. In *Of Mountain Beauty*, the fourth volume in his five-volume series *Modern Painters*, Ruskin proclaimed that the "mountains of the earth are its natural cathedrals, or natural altars, overlaid with gold, and bright with broidered work of flowers, and with their clouds resting on them as the smoke of a continual sacrifice."[92] In the same work, Ruskin noted that English artists had an aversion of to winter scenery because it was difficult to render winter mountains.[93] When American artists did paint winter scenes, they created quaint depictions of homes and towns instead of sublime landscapes.[94] In this vein, the club boasted about the beauty of the Lake Placid area in both winter and summer, claiming that "Nature has ordained that this wonderful valley shall be forever one of the most attractive spots on our planet."[95] One might not see stunning waterfalls in Lake Placid, but there was awe-inspiring scenery at the club during the winter, as well. To entice winter visitors, the club offered the following description of the forest following a heavy snow:

> Where had been green pines were great billowy pyramids of frost blossoms; towering plumes of ethereal, glistening whiteness stood in place of maples and birches; not the

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[88] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 16 (March 2, 1908); *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 37 (January 1910).
[89] *Saturday Evening Post*, January 29, 1910, quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1910.
[90] Green, *Fit for America*, 263-4.
[91] Brown, *Inventing New England*, 23.
[92] John Ruskin, *Of Mountain Beauty*, vol. 4, *Modern Painters* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1890), 376. For information about John Ruskin's influence on American appreciation for scenery, see Sears, *Sacred Places*, 140-41.
[93] Ruskin, *Of Mountain Beauty*, 4: 240.
[94] Mergen, *Snow in America*,15-17, 28-29.
[95] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 20, 1908.

least shrub or twig had escaped the spiritualizing touch. At first all was half veiled by the frosty air, then the mists cleared and the fairy scene sparkled with diamond dust."[96]

Snow could make the ordinary spectacular. Despite being blanketed in white, a winter forest could also be resplendent with color. The forest greeted the winter wanderer with "purples, aquamarines, lapis lazuli" and other hues on the snow, in the sky, and on tree trunks as he or she walked through the forest.[97]

Yet another group that the club wooed was the winter beach vacationer and those tired of the biting humid cold. Although Lake Placid's temperatures could not match the highs of New Orleans or the Florida coast, the club maintained that the Adirondacks were still warmer than the eastern cities. According to Lake Placid officials, the winters in Lake Placid, though very cold according to the thermometer, were actually warmer than those on the coast because of the dry air in the mountains. As a result fifty degrees below zero in Lake Placid felt warmer than minus ten or minus twenty on the coast.[98]

To further encourage urban professional to seek a week of leisure in the forest, the club argued that winter vacations were critical to workplace productivity. Citing Charles H. Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order*, the club claimed that vacations were vital to modern living and not an indulgent luxury or an act of conspicuous consumption. According to Cooley, modern man in the early years of the twentieth century was adjusting to doing five to twenty-five times more work than fifty years previous. He also had to contend with new experiences, sights, and sounds that could further fatigue him. Severe exhaustion led to hysteria, a condition that had increased remarkably in the early twentieth century.[99] The Lake Placid Club offered "a break from the strenuous life of the city winter."[100] To prove this point, the *Club Notes* quoted an unnamed businessman who said he frequently came to the club to experience the "winter effects" and calm environment.[101] National publications reinforced this aspect, emphasizing that the winter world was quieter and that the forest was less crowded with people and therefore seemed larger and more freeing.[102] According to *Harper's Magazine*, a winter break was necessary to ensure peak productivity throughout the summer and fall. Constant pressure during the winter, though, would likely cause one to experience nervousness.[103] Even as America entered WWI, the club reminded its members not to overlook their winter outing due to a pledge of self-denial and sacrifice. Regardless of the times, people still required time to relax so that they could avoid breakdowns.[104] As evidence that hard-working Americans took breaks during the war, the club

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[96] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1910. Contrary to the claims of the *Lake Placid Club Notes*, many notable nineteenth century poets, including Ralph Waldo Emerson and Emily Dickinson, wrestled with the imagery and meaning of winter. Mergen, *Snow in America*, 8-22.
[97] *Saturday Evening Post*, January 29, 1910, quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1910.
[98] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 10, 1907.
[99] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1, 1909.
[100] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, July 1905.
[101] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 19, 1908.
[102] *Saturday Evening Post*, January 29, 1910, quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1910.
[103] *Harper's Magazine* (January 1915) quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January/February 1915.
[104] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, September-December 1917.

quoted an unnamed banker, who noted that one week at the club did more to restore his energy than a month at any other resort he had ever tried.[105]

Winter Sports for Health and Amusement

Despite the popularity of sports among the first winter visitors to Lake Placid, it took some time before the club began to publicize winter recreation. In fact, in a 1906 entry entitled "How to select a summer or winter resort," the *Club Notes* listed activities such as golf, bowling, tennis, and dancing as fourth on a list of the most important considerations after a healthy climate, comfortable rooms, and natural attractions. The same newsletter omitted any reference to winter sports such as ice skating, skiing, and tobogganing. In 1910, the *Saturday Evening Post* wrote that a winter vacation was a good idea because hunting guides could be secured more cheaply. The article, though, failed to mention any other winter recreations.[106]

For the most part, winter sports were not an attraction in themselves; they were merely activities that lured people out into the healthy atmosphere. The *Club Notes* made this point clear, stating that "sleighing and coasting, snowshoeing, tobogganing, skeeing [*sic*], hunting foxes and rabbits, skating, hockey and all snow and ice sports give ample attractions to live much outdoors."[107]

The casual references to outdoor recreation began to change in early 1908 when the Snowshoe Section of the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC) chose Lake Placid for its annual winter mountain climb.[108] The AMC appealed to Lake Placid Club members because it was a reputable group that viewed the mountains as places of both scientific exploration and bodily re-creation. Harvard Professor Edward C. Pickering had founded the AMC in 1876 amidst the fervor for exploration that gripped post-Civil War America. The Snowshoe Section had been founded just a decade later in 1886, the same year of American Robert Peary's failed attempt as the first person to cross Greenland.[109] For the AMC, the simple act of walking through the woods provided numerous benefits. By hiking a person not only strengthened his or her body but he or she also gained knowledge about the natural world. Hiking to the tops of mountains and viewing sublime landscapes also provided a person with spiritual and transcendent moments.[110] By wrapping recreation in science, the AMC made sure that its ramblings had a purpose. The club thus acknowledged the strong Calvinist tradition in New England that abhorred sports and leisure and recognized only the value of work.[111]

The AMC's values also reflected the ideas of park planners like Frederick Law Olmsted who cherished natural surroundings for their ability to restore a person's health and to provide a break from the enervation of urban life.[112] The AMC, in fact, approached the mountains like a

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[105] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, September-December 1917.
[106] *Saturday Evening Post*, January 29, 1910, quoted in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1910.
[107] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1906.
[108] For a short history of the Snowshoe Section, see Charlotte Endicott Wilde, "Reminiscences of the Snow-Shoe Section," *Appalachia*, no. 114 (June 15, 1952), 52-59.
[109] Michael F. Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 118; Wilde, "Reminiscences," 53.
[110] Johnson, *Grand and Magnificent*, 154.
[111] Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 20.
[112] Frederick Law Olmsted, *Public Parks: Being Two Papers Read Before the American Social Science Association in 1870 and 1880, Entitled Respectively, Public Parks and the Enlargement*

park planner by creating a network of mountain paths, camps, and refuges.[113] Open to both men and women, the AMC was composed of five departments that included natural history, topography, exploration, art, and improvements.[114] Under the guidance of these various groups, the club not only mapped and described the mountain hikes available in New England's mountains, but it also carried out a program to create access to scenery by clearing trees from mountaintops.[115] As the Lake Placid Club point out, the AMC had been so successful in its management of forest lands that the governments of Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire had given it sections of land to hold in public trust.[116] The Lake Placid Club gushed that it would be a perfect area for a long relationship with the AMC because Lake Placid was situated within a short walk or drive of 400 mountain peaks. The club was so enthusiastic about a potential association with the AMC that before the Snowshoe Section even arrived, Lake Placid officials announced that they planned to keep maps, guidebooks, manuscripts, notes, and directions collected by the AMC that were helpful for mountain climbers. In addition, the club offered an exhibit of the AMC's winter clothing, snowshoes, and other equipment.[117] Only two months following the AMC's visit, which was documented in the *New York Herald*, the Lake Placid Club announced that it was creating its own snowshoe club.[118]

Despite the club's enthusiasm about an association with the AMC, references to snowshoeing proved temporary. In the years following the AMC's visit, the *Club Notes* almost never mentioned the activities of the Lake Placid snowshoe club. The club's limited flirtation with snowshoeing was likely related to the growing popularity of sports such as tobogganing and ice skating. Both of these sports could be carried out nearby on the club grounds and did not require long walks in the snow up to wind-blown peaks. Furthermore, these sports satisfied a desire for both adventure and sociability. Toboggans allowed guests to race down hills at break-neck speeds while ice skating permitted men and women to interact on the rink.

The sport of ice skating offered particular appeal to a country club like Lake Placid that was concerned about the health and reproduction of the white middle class. Ice skating was a light exercise suitable for whole families. Although skating was documented in America as early as the mid-eighteenth century, the sport did not really capture wide popular interest until the mid-nineteenth century.[119] In 1849, citizens of Philadelphia founded the Skating Club of the City and County of Philadelphia. By 1864 this group included 261 members, sixteen of whom were women.[120] Around this same time, ice skating became the "most important sport in Central Park" according to historian Steven Reiss. Initially rinks in Central Park were divided by gender, but in 1860 an intrepid woman ventured onto the men's pond and other women followed, thus feeding a skating frenzy.[121] At the time, most sports were considered off limits for women for fear that

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of Towns and a Consideration of the Justifying Value of a Public Park (Brookline, Massachusetts: n.p., 1902), 32-33.

113 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 26, 1907.

114 Johnson, *This Grand and Magnificent*, 152-3.

115 Ibid., 153.

116 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 26, 1907.

117 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 26, 1907.

118 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 2, 1908.

119 Hines, *Figure Skating*, 41-42.

120 Ibid., 43-44.

121 Reiss, *City Games*, 45-6.

they would harm a woman's reproductive capacity and alter her physical features, making her unattractive to men.[122] Ice skating, though, was a socially acceptable sport for women because it required movement and strengthening of the body without overexertion. Since the 1830s, middle-class women like Catherine Beecher had advocated light exercises like calisthenics. In fact, in 1847 Lydia Maria Child openly endorsed skating as a healthy activity for girls in *The Little Girls' Own Book*. Child noted that such activities, though, should be practiced in a courtyard and not in public, where "they would of course be highly improper."[123]

Aside from providing a chance for women to exercise, skating also offered an opportunity for men and women to initiate romances and other relationships. In this way, the sport offered a winter analogue to summer sports like croquet, which captured upper-class American attention during the 1860s and 70s as a sport that encouraged interaction among men and women.[124] By the time skating achieved popularity at Lake Placid, the sport's heyday was long over, but its appeal remained the same.[125] Club members flocked to skating because it was a healthy activity that encouraged interaction among the sexes. During the club's first few winter seasons, skating enjoyed limited popularity due to the danger and difficulties associated with the sport. Initially, the club offered skating on two local lakes. To allow skating, club members regularly scraped the snow from the ice and then pumped water onto the cleared surface to create a level skating plane. To protect the ice from the elements, club members also constructed wind and snow breaks. Despite all these efforts, Lake Placid skaters complained that "we always have ice [but] our trouble is that we get too much snow over it."[126] Even when cleared of snow, the lake ice always was problematic because skaters ran the risk of breaking through weak spots and drowning. During the 1908-009 winter the club addressed the danger of ice skating by flooding its tennis courts.[127] The 120-by-60-foot rink was not only safer, but it allowed for more people to enjoy ice sports such as hockey and curling.[128] Within two weeks, the rink's popularity caused the club to add street lamps to provide night skating.[129]

Ice skating appealed to a latent Victorian sentiment at the Lake Placid Club because it allowed for genteel interactions among men and women. Tobogganing, on the other hand, was an activity that appealed to the emerging American fascination with speed as well as the new middle-class appreciation for the thrills of the amusement park.

Tobogganing was not a new sport when it became a fascination of Lake Placid members. As noted earlier, the Montreal Winter Carnival had featured tobogganing in 1885. Several cities

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[122] Allen Guttmann, *Women's Sports: A History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 94-5.
[123] [Lydia Maria Francis] Child, *The Little Girl's Own Book* (Edinburgh: Robert Martin, 1847), 284.
[124] Guttmann, *Women's Sports*, 124.
[125] The National Amateur Skating Association had dissolved in 1905. When the International Skating Union of America was formed in 1907, it hardly ignited a new interest in the sport as it only managed to stage four competitions in fourteen years, only one of which occurred before WWI. Hines, *Figure Skating*, 50, 57-8.
[126] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 16 (March 2, 1908).
[127] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1, 1908 and February 1, 1909.
[128] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1909.
[129] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1, 1909.

in upstate New York even formed bobsled clubs in the early 1880s.[130] It is likely that tobogganing appealed to men who spent their summers racing horses or yachting. Both of these sports were the domain of the upper class and were associated with speed.[131] Yachting had grown to particular prominence in the 1850s and mushroomed in popularity following the war when Americans competed with the English to design the fastest yachts.[132] Yachtsmen even tried to carry out their sport during the winter. In Rochester, New York, in 1899, a group of men formed an ice yachting club, an organization that residents of Syracuse copied the following year.[133]

Although tobogganing no doubt attracted the upper class who craved the sensation of speed during the winter, it also appealed more generally to people fascinated with turn-of-the-century amusements. The establishment of Luna Park and Dreamland at Coney Island marked a new era of respectability for the amusement park. These parks not only offered an array of traditional mechanical rides but they also presented various experiences that appealed to the middle class interest in the exotic. Visitors could tour a Japanese building, travel through Switzerland, and float along Venetian canals.[134] When not traveling abroad, Luna Park's visitors could ride the twisting, elevator-serviced slide known as the "Helter Skelter" or "Human Toboggan." At Stepplechase Park, guests could experience a similar slide that was made to look like a tobacco pipe.[135] Shoot-the-Chutes was another similar amusement in which guests rode small, flat-bottomed boats down a steep incline and across a pool that was thronged by spectators. [136]

The Lake Placid Club made its first foray into this realm of amusement in 1906 when it built a toboggan slide from the peak of the golf house.[137] By 1908, the toboggan slide had begun to look much like an amusement park ride as it became a gathering spot where guests circled around an open fire and watched the "fascinating amusement."[138] Like most turn-of-the-century amusements, tobogganing proved popular among men and women of all ages. Rather than the working men and women of the city who frequented urban amusement parks, toboggan enthusiasts were often college students from schools like Vassar and Yale. These co-eds used the

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[130] McKelvery, *Snow in the Cities*, 53-4.
[131] Reiss, *City Games*, 25-6; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, 201-3.
[132] Adelman, *Sporting Time*, 203-5.
[133] McKelvey, *Snow in the Cities*, 81.
[134] John F. Kasson, *Amusing the Million: Coney Island at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 69-70. For an argument about how Luna Park and Dreamland were more suited to middle-class interests, see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 129-32.
[135] Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 78.
[136] Kasson, *Amusing the Million*, 78. Jon Sterngass, *First Resorts: Pursuing Pleasure at Saratoga Springs, Newport and Coney Island* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 249.
[137] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1906.
[138] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1, 1908.

toboggan track all day and into the night when moonlight was the only available illumination.[139] One can only imagine how the night cold encouraged budding romances as men and women huddled closer together to stay warm. The coasting track also proved popular with "prominent citizens" and men and women who "enjoy[ed] it quite as much as children" as they rode at speeds that were estimated at 60 miles per hour.[140]

Tobogganing certainly had a social appeal, but the real interest in tobogganing was its association with speed and danger. As one rider described it, the "sensation of arriving before you start is a bit weird [and] like conversion from sin, it must be experienced to be understood."[141] As in Davos, over the years slides and sleds in Lake Placid were engineered for even greater velocity. By early 1913, the club had built a 42-foot tower that allowed guests to travel at speeds between thirty and forty miles per hour, depending on whether they rode a large or a small sled. That same year a new coasting sled was introduced that featured metal runners. Banned from the toboggan slide, the new sleds were used on a course that ran from the top of Hillcrest Hill down a 114-foot slope and out across a half-mile outrun that was paved with 12-inch thick ice blocks measuring four feet by two feet. Riders commented on how speeds reached on a toboggan eclipsed those attainable with a car, train, or airplane because tobogganers were not encapsulated by a heavy piece of machinery but were exposed to the elements.[142] Rather than looking through a window to see the landscape whip by, the toboggan rider had an entire panorama available to him. This thrilling experience, though, always had the hint of mortal danger. As one woman remarked, tobogganing "was the greatest experience of my life, but I felt all the while as if I were flirting with my tombstone."[143]

The liberating speed of the toboggan also encouraged more liberal forms of dress. In this way, tobogganing had a similar social impact as turn-of-the-century cycling. During the 1890s, female cyclists had argued that corsets and long dresses were both unsafe and uncomfortable. Long dresses not only increased wind resistance but they also often became entangled in their wheel's spokes. At first women adopted shorter skirts, but very quickly they began wearing knickerbockers and bloomers.[144] Although somewhat later, tobogganers, too, realized that long skirts posed certain dangers for women as they sped along "faster than an express train."[145] As a result, the *Club Notes* in 1917 endorsed the wearing of knickerbockers by women for both safety and comfort.[146]

Tobogganing remained a feature of club life up through the 1930s, but even its popularity began to wane with the excitement that began to surround skiing, particularly ski jumping and cross-country. Like tobogganing, skiing could be a social event as well as a sport associated with danger and speed. Skiing, though, was a Nordic sport associated with health, and therefore held

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[139] Lake *Placid Club Notes*, January 1909, 28. For reference to the clientele at Coney Island, see David Nasaw, *Going Out: The Rise and Fall of Public* Amusements (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 81, 90; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements,* ch. 5.
[140] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 69 (January 1914); *Lake Placid Club Year Book* (1914), 97.
[141] *Lake Placid Club Notes* no. 60 (October 1912).
[142] *Lake Placid Club Notes* no. 61 (December-January 1912-13).
[143] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, October-December 1915.
[144] Robert A. Smith, *A Social History of the Bicycle: Its Early Life and Times in America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1972), 98-102.
[145] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1917.
[146] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1917.

special appeal to the white American middle class that was fretting over its maintenance of power and looking for ways to strengthen the race.

In many ways, skiing should have captured American attention during the 1890s just as it did that of Europeans. It was during this period that the middle class in both Europe and American embraced cycling, a recreation that was deemed acceptable to both men and women and was also associated with speed and fitness. Before the 1890s, most cyclists had ridden the Ordinary, an expensive bike that featured a large front wheel (some wheels measured up to 50 inches in diameter) and a small rear wheel for stability.[147] In the 1880s, though, bike manufacturers began to experiment with chain drives and smaller wheels, thus making the bike safer.[148] The low safety bikes, as they came to be called, proved particularly popular among women, who began swelling the ranks of cyclists and even began forming their own bicycle clubs.[149] The introduction of the pneumatic tire made the smaller bikes even more popular and the number of cyclists mushroomed.[150] By 1895, there were over 500 cycling clubs in the United States.[151] In Boston and other large cities, these clubs sought out smooth stretches of road with gentle undulations that allowed for fast, enjoyable riding.[152] At $50, the safety bicycle was cheaper than its predecessors, but it was still not affordable for the working class. Therefore, speeding cyclists were often middle-class men and women who incurred the enmity of the working class as they raced through the latter's neighborhoods. In New York City's Lower East Side, for example, residents littered the streets with glass and garbage to slow the riders. Residents even pelted riders with eggs and placed pushcarts in their way.[153] When winter came, and roads were impassable, the ski would have offered the summer cyclist the chance to enjoy similar aerobic activity.

Skiing was a perfect winter activity for an American middle class that was recoiling against bureaucratic office jobs and embracing a host of outdoor sports and anti-modern activities. At the time, though, the knowledge of how to both ski and make skis was primarily the domain of Scandinavian immigrants, particularly Norwegians. A large number of Norwegian immigrants had relocated to Minnesota and Wisconsin where they formed ski clubs such as *Den Norske Turn og Skiforening* and *Holmenkollen*. These groups conducted their meetings and often wrote their constitutions in Norwegian.[154] An interest in skiing followed Scandinavians wherever they went. With few Scandinavian immigrants on the East Coast, though, the interest in skiing was minimal. In Stowe, Vermont, a popular ski destination today, skiing did not truly capture local interest until 1912 when three Swedish families settled in the area. [155] One can also measure the limited interest and knowledge of skiing on the East Coast by noting that the AMC, arguably the largest of East Coast's outing clubs, had little to no experience in skiing. When the club arrived in Lake Placid in 1908, its members brought snowshoes, not skis. In the Midwest,

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[147] David V. Herlihy, *Bicycle: The History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 160-1.
[148] Ibid., 235-40.
[149] Ibid., 244.
[150] Ibid., 246.
[151] Reiss, *City Games*, 64.
[152] Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865-1915* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982), 154.
[153] Reiss, *City Games*, 64.
[154] Allen, *Skisport*, 49.
[155] Ibid., 33.

however, cross-country skiing was so popular that Ashland, Wisconsin, was able to host the United States National Cross-Country Championship in 1907.[156]

The regional and ethnic aspects of skiing began to wane somewhat in 1905 when a group of men gathered in Ishpeming, Michigan, to found the National Ski Association.[157] This group discouraged displays of nationalism and publicized non-Norwegian skiers in its newsletter *Skisport*. Six of the NSA's seven founding members were Norwegians, though, and as a result the group maintained a strong ethnic identity. *Skisport* even included the column "Fra Kristiana" ("From Chrisitiana," the former name of Oslo), which provided members with information about activities in Norway.[158] The NSA also adhered to the Norwegian concept of *Idraet* in promoting skiing. Loosely translated, *Idraet* connotes sport, but a more precise definition actually refers to an outdoor exercise intended to build strength and manliness.[159] In many ways *Idraet* echoed Theodore Roosevelt's notion of the "Strenuous Life" and the ideas of Muscular Christianity that were taking hold in America at the time.[160] For American men concerned about their nation's physical weakness, skiing offered a means to winter fitness. Both cross-country and ski-jumping, in fact, were revered as the heart of ski-*Idraet* in Norway; in the U.S., however, ski clubs struggled to promote cross-country skiing and found that jumping generated the most enthusiasm from both athletes and spectators.[161] The concept of *Idraet* fell victim to sheer economic necessity. Jumping was a spectacle that could attract crowds. As a result, jumpers were paid to jump in cities throughout the Midwest ranging from small towns like St. Croix Falls, Minnesota, to regional metropolises like St. Paul.[162] Jumping competitions, consequently, offered huge cash purses for the best jumpers, assuring that the best athletes would participate.[163] Considering that around 1900 occupations such as mining provided immigrants with roughly $2 a day, the lure of winning a $75 purse for the furthest jump was significant.[164] From the turn of the century through the 1920s, jumping was featured at winter carnivals throughout the upper Midwest, New England, and Colorado.[165]

Although ski jumping was the most popular form of skiing in the ski centers of the Midwest, at the Lake Placid Club, cross-country attracted the majority of initial interest. Unlike tobogganing, which was confined to a track, skis allowed a person to move in whatever direction he or she pleased. According to the *Club Notes*, a skier could survey the mountains and valleys and exclaim, "the world is mine."[166]

Cross-country skiing was also particularly popular because it was a winter compliment to the popular country-club sport of golf. Although golf had been played in the United States since the 1770s, it was not until the flourishing of the Gilded Age that the Scottish pastime captured American attention. Unsurprisingly, golf was praised as a healthy activity that drew hard-

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[156] Ibid., 55.
[157] Ibid., 11.
[158] Allen, *Skisport*, 49-52.
[159] Ibid., 11.
[160] Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 33-44.
[161] Ibid., 54-55.
[162] Ibid., 59.
[163] Ibid., 54-56.
[164] Ibid., 60-61.
[165] Ibid., 79; Coleman, *Skistyle*, 31-40.
[166] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, October-December 1915.

working businessmen away from their desks and long hours at the office and into the healthy air of the outdoors. Captains of industry such as Andrew Carnegie, a Scot himself, praised the game as a healthy tonic.[167] Despite its associations with elites, golf was actually praised as a democratic sport. The cost of clubs and the limited physical requirements of the game made it accessible to a broad range of people, men and women included.[168] In fact, golf was particularly popular among women and many golf clubs initially welcomed female members.[169] Other defenders of the sport pointed out that golf had echoes of the frontier spirit in which men pitted themselves against nature.[170] Skiing, too, promoted outdoor exercise and required little athletic ability. Furthermore, skiers and golfers used the same terrain. The golf course, which offered acres of manicured rolling hills and fairways, doubled nicely as a ski playground in the winter when skiers were in search of areas free of stones and other obstructions.[171]

The similarities between golf and skiing went beyond considerations for health and the availability of open space. Both sports were inherently anti-modern. Golf had originated in the Scottish countryside whereas skiing was associated with the forests and hills of Norway. The historic origins of these two sports remained very evident in the United States where country club golf professionals were very often Scots and ski clubs were often composed almost entirely of Scandinavians.[172] As a result, these sports had little association with the rising metropolises and pace of modern life, which, as mentioned earlier, many Lake Placid guests hoped to escape. The connections between golf and skiing were not lost on club members, who, as early as 1910, forecasted that in three to five years skiing would become as popular as golf and tennis.[173] Indeed, five years later, the club wrote that skiing had become as central and permanent to club life as golf and that it was challenging for first place among winter sports.[174]

The American St. Moritz

The popularity of winter sports at Lake Placid provided club officials with an opportunity to appeal to a new group of wealthy American tourists who had visited the European winter resorts like St. Moritz, where skiing, skating, and tobogganing were all popular. Lake Placid's claim as a European-style resort was actually quite typical of American resorts and tourist regions. During the nineteenth century, numerous tourist sites had appealed to the wealthy leisure classes by branding themselves as European. During the late nineteenth century, visitors and guidebooks compared the Hudson River to the Rhine and envisioned southern California as Italy without the foul smells and the poor.[175] The comparison to Switzerland, in particular, was a

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[167] Richard J. Moss, *Golf and the American Country Club* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 47.
[168] Moss, *Golf and the American Country Club*, 51.
[169] Moss, *Golf and the American Country Club*, 45, 49.
[170] Moss, *Golf and the American Country Club*, 57.
[171] In *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 37 (January 1910), the writer recommends the golf course as an ideal area for beginning skiers.
[172] Allen, *Skisport*, 49-50. For an argument about the anti-modernism of golf, see Moss, *Golf*, 46-47.
[173] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, (January 1910).
[174] *Lake Placid Club Notes* (October-December 1915).
[175] Sears, *Sacred Places*, 60-1; Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 33.

common one and usually drew attention to a resort's or a region's claims that it had both a healthy climate and beautiful scenery. In the 1870s, resorts in Colorado Springs, Colorado, were among the first to highlight these aspects as they sought to attract wealthy British guests accustomed to vacationing in Switzerland.[176] When tourists finally discovered Alaska in the 1880s, the mountains looking down on the Inland Passage earned Alaska the title as the "American Switzerland."[177] Before winter sports became a primary focus at Lake Placid, the club made similar claims in its desire to be considered an American Switzerland. The club asserted that "Lake Placid can no more be a passing fashion than can Switzerland, for its attractions are of climate, mountains, forests and lakes in an unsurpast combination."[178] As in the Swiss Engadine, the *Club Notes* explained that Lake Placid and the Adirondacks received hoar frost that turned the landscape into a sparkling vista. Both areas also experienced daytime winter temperatures that often felt much warmer than the thermometer indicated.[179] Such claims did not attract huge numbers of guests, but it did lure ones that mattered. Although the Lake Placid Club had only around 100 guests during its peak period in the winter of 1909-10, one of those guests was identified as a "well-traveled London banker" who noted that he had never seen anything like a Lake Placid sunset, which "blazed scarlet [and] then faded away into purple, lilac and gray."[180]

By 1900 the winter sports center was a well-known institution in Europe. Few American tourist regions, however, cast themselves as European on the basis that they offered winter sports. In Canadian Rockies, the Canadian Pacific Railroad tried to establish a winter sports resort in 1910 by keeping the Banff Tourist Hotel open during the winter and by hiring Austrian mountain guides. A year later, Conrad Klein even founded the Banff Ski Club.[181] Around the same time, the Woodstock Inn in Woodstock, Vermont, and Peckett's-on-Sugar-Hill in Franconia, New Hampshire, kept their doors open for winter guests. Woodstock even entertained a British guest, who dissuaded gathered guests from snowshoeing by showing them how to use the skis that the inn had available.[182]

Lake Placid began advertising itself as a European-style around the same time that the small mountain inns to the East were beginning to attract a few winter guests. Few of the club's guests actually seemed personally familiar with the European resorts as the club drew some of its earliest information about European resorts from the North German Lloyd Steamship Co. bulletin, which described how tobogganing, bobsledding, skiing, skating, hockey, and curling were all popular sports in Europe. Save for bobsledding, the club boasted that Lake Placid offered all of these sports as well as sleighing and snowshoeing, neither of which was very popular in the Alps.[183] In 1914, the club published a sixteen-page booklet that featured the winter sports available at Lake Placid, which the pamphlet referred to as the "American Switzerland."[184]

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176 Anne Farrar Hyde, *An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920* (New York: New York University Press, 1990), 148-50.
177 Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West*, 57.
178 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 20, 1908.
179 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 60 (October 1912)
180 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 38 (February 1910)
181 Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 235.
182 Allen, *From Skisport*, 82-3.
183 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 37 (January 1910)
184 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1914.

The growing enthusiasm for winter sports among Lake Placid members manifested itself in the club's first mid-winter festival in the early months of 1914. The festival featured so many sporting competitions and events that the local Lake Placid newspaper printed a daily edition to "record and comment on the series of events for men, women, and children."[185]

As an American counterpart to Swiss mountain resorts, the Lake Placid Club took an oddly positive tone about the outbreak of WWI. "The great war has made strange conditions," noted that club's newsletter, which it claimed would cause the thousands who had gone to Switzerland for winter sport to look to America, specifically Lake Placid, for winter sports facilities.[186] As the club had hoped, visitors flocked to the club as war raged in Europe. Whereas in February 1913 Lake Placid counted only 223 guests, by February 1917 this number had climbed to 556.[187] During this same period, the club adopted new European sports such as skijoring, which was introduced in 1915. Invented in Norway, skijoring was a sport in which horses dragged skiers around a racetrack. The sport was particularly popular in St. Moritz among elite British and German guests who were accustomed to thoroughbred horse races. The staging of these races in Lake Placid provided the club with yet another occasion to announce that Lake Placid was indeed the "St. Moritz of America."[188]

The club's self-promotion and popularity caught the attention of newspapers around the country that proclaimed Placid the St. Moritz of America.[189] In 1916, the club observed in its simplified spelling system that magazines and journals had printed "10 times more pictures and comments on winter sports and plezure attractions of the Club than in any previous year."[190] No longer simply a healthy winter retreat for middle-class Americans, Lake Placid had entered an elite company of mountain resorts. Americans were not the only ones who sang the praises of Lake Placid. According to its curious custom, the *Club Notes* cited anonymous guests, this time two Swiss, who claimed that all the club's sporting grounds, except for its toboggan track, were superior to those in St. Moritz, which had the famous Cresta run.[191]

Lake Placid's popularity as a winter resort helped make its name synonymous with winter sports in the United States by 1920. According to the *Club Notes*, the Cincinnati *Times-Star* invoked the name of Lake Placid to emphasize how popular winter sports had become along the banks of the Ohio River.[192] "Placid is widely recognized as the winter sports capital of America," claimed the club. As proof, the club cited the *Syracuse Post-Standard*, which had printed two full pages about winter sports in Lake Placid. As further evidence, the club cited a woman's magazine that had run a $5,000 advertisement on its back page that read: "Use

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[185] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1914.
[186] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November/December 1914.
[187] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1913; *Lake Placid Club Notes*, April 1917.
[188] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January/February 1915.
[189] Cited periodicals include the *New York* Times, *New York Tribune*, *Travel*, *Leslie's*, *Independent*, and *Literary Digest*. *Lake Placid Club Notes*, May 1916.
[190] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, May 1916. Dewey promoted simplified spelling as a more efficient way of writing—especially for businessmen. The journal *Simplified Spelling Bulletin* praised Dewey and pointed out, ironically, that "No man has used more words and more sense to preach brevity and directness." "Promoting Efficiency," *Simplified Spelling Bulletin* 5, no. 1 (June 1913), 13
[191] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1919.
[192] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1917.

Colgate's face cream in Placid."[193] New York companies were even sending cameramen to Placid to shoot footage for movie theaters, Pathé shows, and Sunday newspaper supplements.[194]

Winter Sports and Collegiate Life

The Lake Placid Club's claim that it was the epitome of winter sports resorts was certainly debatable, but its assertions about the country's interest in winter sports were not. The December 1920 issue of *Outing* bolstered the club's claims, announcing that "men and women alike are rediscovering winter."[195] Behind a cover that featured a woman on snowshoes standing next to a snow-covered creek were articles about winter camping, hiking, and ski jumping. The issue surveyed both the history and scope of winter sports in the country in addition to serving as a handbook for novice skiers by providing articles on proper technique and winter clothing. Albert Britt, the magazine's editor, enthused that winter sports were being practiced throughout the country. Commenting on California, Britt proclaimed that "Not even the land of perpetual summer is barred from winter sports for winter is spelled in terms of altitude as well as latitude."[196] Despite the robust interest in winter sports at the Lake Placid Club, *Outing* paid little attention to the flourishing ski culture at the New York club. The article featured two photos of activities in Lake Placid, one of children ice skating and another of women performing what was termed a gymkhana by trying to ice skate while rolling a hoop.[197]

Although comprehensive in its scope, Albert Britt's survey of winter activity failed to offer any clear explanation for why people were turning to winter sports across the country. Britt, though, did suggest that winter sports were growing in popularity among college students thanks to the influence of the Dartmouth Outing Club.[198] During the late nineteenth century, physical fitness had become a feature of universities. Dudley Sargent was among the first to promote physical fitness at the collegiate level when he spearheaded a program at Harvard. Sargent had been an acrobat and weight lifter as a young man and actually served as the head of the Bowdoin College Gym for two years before enrolling at the school as a student. After earning a medical degree at Yale, where he also served as a gymnastics instructor, Sargent eventually found himself at Harvard where he created a program to promote the health and fitness of every student, not just the athletically gifted undergraduate.[199] Although a proponent of physical fitness, Sargent and other physical educators expressed little interest in promoting sporting competitions. According to Sargent, sports only created sport-specific bodies instead of healthy, symmetrical ones. Sargent disliked sports because he felt they often became an obsession rather than a compliment to the collegiate life.[200] Among Sargent's more notable students was Theodore Roosevelt, who as an alumnus worked closely with Sargent in planning Harvard's physical training program.[201]

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[193] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1920.
[194] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1921.
[195] Albert Britt, "A New Map of Winter," *Outing* 77, no. 3 (December 1920), 107.
[196] Britt, "A New Map," 107.
[197] Britt, "A New Map," 108, 110.
[198] Britt, "A New Map," 108.
[199] Donald J. Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality, 1880-1910* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 69-72; Green, *Fit for America*, 202.
[200] Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 72.
[201] Mrozek, *Sport and American Mentality*, 36.

The culture and appreciation for physical fitness at Harvard spread throughout the collegiate world in the early decades of the twentieth century. Rather than focusing on exercises in the gymnasium, some colleges formed outing clubs. In 1888, St. Olaf's in Minnesota formed one of the first outing clubs and the Michigan School of Mines and Plymouth Normal School in New Hampshire followed in 1904 and 1907 respectively.[202] The most prominent of these outing clubs, though, was founded by students at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.[203]

The Dartmouth Outing Club (DOC) was the idea of Fred Harris, a Dartmouth undergraduate who began skiing when he was 14. In 1908, Harris, who by this time was an accomplished ski jumper, attended the Montreal Winter Carnival, where he witnessed the spectacle of the ski jumping competitions. The following year, Harris got the opportunity to perform a ski jump in Montreal.[204] Harris was also aware of the booming popularity of ski jumping competitions in the Midwest and various northern cities and saw an opportunity for changing the perception of Hanover's winters from a drab period to a time of revitalization.[205] In November 1909, Harris wrote a letter to the school newspaper suggesting that Dartmouth form a club for snowshoe and ski outings to stimulate interest in outdoor sports.[206] The club, as Harris envisioned it, would offer weekly ski excursions and hold ski jumping competitions. Harris even suggested a winter meet, which would feature a 100-yard dash on snowshoes, a cross-country competition, and a ski jumping competition among other races.[207] Like the Montreal Snow Shoe Club, Harris recommended that the group adopt a winter costume consisting of a toque and a sash.[208] The club reflected many of the values of collegiate athletic programs that advocated athletics not only for strengthening the body but also as a means of fostering a tough, competitive attitude suitable for post-collegiate life in the business world.[209] Couched in these terms, Harris' letter garnered considerable interest and only one week after it appeared in the *Dartmouth*, a group of sixty men, including a handful of professors, gathered in Chandler Hall to form the Dartmouth Outing Club.[210]

The DOC's approach to sports echoed in some ways the notions of the Victorian middle class that believed that athletic activity should be directed toward some dignified purpose such as the promotion of health or moral behavior.[211] Sports could not be pursued purely for amusement.

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202 Allen, *From Skisport*, 75-76.

203 For a history of the club to the present, see Stephen L. Waterhouse, ed., *Passion for Skiing* ([New Hampshire]: Stephen L. Waterhouse and the History of Dartmouth Skiing Project LLC, 2010).

204 David O. Hooke, *Reaching That Peak: 75 Years of the Dartmouth Outing Club* (Canaan, New Hampshire: Phoenix Publishing, 1987), 3-4.

205 Ibid., 4.

206 Ibid.

207 Ibid., 4-5.

208 Ibid., 5. The sash was noted as a part of the MSSC's uniform as early as 1859. Morrow, "Knights of the Snowshoe," 12.

209 For a brief overview of the goals of collegiate athletic programs, see Green, *Fit for America*, 204.

210 Hooke, *Reaching That Peak*, 5-6.

211 Donald J. Mrozek, "Sport in American Life: From National Health to Personal Fulfillment, 1890-1940," in *Fitness in American Culture*, edited by Kathryn Grover (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989), 19.

To this end, the DOC promoted sports for their social and health benefits, not purely as some sort of entertainment. The club's primary purpose was to lure students away from their languid, indoor winter life and out into the bracing cold to exercise and feel invigorated. Most students, though, were averse to leaving their heated rooms to struggle through the snow on snowshoes and skis. With the help and leadership of energetic and supportive professors, however, the club grew in popularity, especially as equipment became more readily available. By 1912, in fact, a door-to-door survey by the DOC revealed that there were over 1,100 skiers and sixty regular snowshoers among a student body numbering 1,302 men.[212] To support the growing ranks of snowsport enthusiasts, the club established a basic recreation infrastructure that included primitive trails and shelters. The club used old town and forest roads, as well as open pasture, to establish its first trail, which essentially followed Old Wolfboro Road to South Moose Mountain, where the DOC had a cabin, or rather an abandoned lumber shack that measured seven feet by twelve.[213] Fundraising allowed the club to build the larger Cabin No. 1 nearby the old shanty in early spring 1913.[214] In the following years, the club constructed more cabins, eventually creating a chain of huts that facilitated longer tours throughout New Hampshire.[215]

To ensure that the club members developed a healthy sense of competition, the DOC held a Field Day, essentially the winter equivalent of a track meet. As Harris had envisioned, Field Day featured snowshoe races and a ski jumping competition similar to those held at the Montreal Winter Carnival.[216] The competitions attracted a crowd of nearly 300 who witnessed men racing across the snow and flying through the air.[217] Dartmouth may have been the only school in the United States organizing winter sporting events, but it was not the only school in North America. As one might expect, students at Montreal's McGill University were also actively engaged in promoting outdoor recreation. In 1914 the intramural sporting competitions became both intercollegiate and international when the Montreal Ski Club of McGill University invited Dartmouth students to participate in a dual cross-country and jumping meet in Canada.[218] The following year Dartmouth hosted a similar event.[219] Competition could now be cast as a contest among nations.

In February 1920, Fred Harris introduced the Dartmouth Outing Club to the nation in an article for *National Geographic*. Harris described the club as a democratic group that, unlike most sporting clubs was not limited to a certain number of team members. Rather, the outing club was open to anyone who wanted to enjoy the winter outdoors. The inclusiveness of the club was born out by the numbers, which showed that the club included nearly 1,000 Dartmouth students, roughly two-thirds of the student body.[220] Harris described how club members regularly participated in hikes through the woods, often staying at various shacks and cabins along the

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212 Ibid., 385.
213 Ibid., 95.
214 Ibid., 96.
215 Ibid., 97.
216 Ibid., 7.
217 Ibid., 7.
218 Ibid., 220.
219 Ibid., 221.
220 Fred H. Harris, "Skiing Over the New Hampshire Hills: A Thrilling and Picturesque Sport Which Has a Thousand Devotees in the Dartmouth Outing Club," *National Geographic* 37, no. 2 (February 1920), 151.

way. These journeys, according to Harris, provided club members with numerous opportunities to not only enjoy themselves but to also learn something about the natural history of New England. Harris pointed out that on skis, DOC members could reach little known areas like the Lost River District where they could see how earthquakes and melting glaciers had created a river that flowed underground for a quarter mile.[221] Club members were also treated to vistas of "serrated summits and tree-clad slopes wrapped in an Arctic mantle of iridescent beauty."[222]

Although the club sounded like a chapter of the AMC, it was strikingly different in a few ways. The club was not averse to amusement for amusement's sake. Outing club members held an annual a Winter Carnival that Harris called the "'Mardis Gras of the North."[223] This winter festival included snowshoe and ski races but most importantly it featured the spectacle of ski jumping. In an age that was just beginning to understand the possibilities of air travel, ski jumpers were a fascinating sight. Harris described how ski jumpers traveled down a 300-foot slope to a fifty-foot long platform, from which they sprang into the air.[224] Referring to the ski jump as the modern equivalent of the ancient Olympic's chariot races, Harris equated the ski jumper to "a human missile shot from some gigantic catapult."[225] Although airplane pilots might be able to cover more distance, Harris claimed that ski jumping was a "more exhilarating sport than flying."[226] The ski jumper had "no windshield to protect him" and "no ailerons, no rudder, no 'flippers' to aid him." Rather the "whole success depended on the human machine, upon the proper coordination of the muscles and upon the ability of the jumper to judge with absolute accuracy the precise moment for the spring."[227] When not jumping, these brave ski jumpers carried out other daring feats such as climbing icy Mt. Washington, the tallest peak in the Northeast, and skiing down the carriage roads.[228]

Sno Birds and Physical Fitness

The popularity of the Dartmouth Outing Club and other similar groups in the United States had a clear influence on activities of the Lake Placid Club, whose members decided in November 1920 to found the Sno Birds, an organization designed specifically for the promotion of winter outdoor activities. This decision was natural considering the growing popularity and costs of maintaining sports at the club. The club had constantly reminded its members about how many of them enjoyed winter sports. During February 1917, so many skiers flocked out onto the golf course that at times it looked like a "heavy roller" had passed over the fairways.[229] In fact, the popularity of skiing had caused members to transform the once popular toboggan run from the top of the golf house into a ski run.[230] Skiing had become such a phenomenon by 1920 that the club paid $40,700 to have obstacles removed from its golf courses to make skiing safer.[231] In

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221 Harris, "Skiing Over," 158.
222 Ibid.
223 Ibid.
224 Ibid., 159-60.
225 Ibid., 160.
226 Ibid., 161.
227 Ibid., 161.
228 Ibid., 164.
229 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1917.
230 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1917.
231 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1920.

1918, the club even hired a ski instructor from St. Moritz named L. Williams.[232] Two years later, the Bredenberg Bros. moved their ski manufacturing plant from Lake Champlain to Lake Placid. Immigrants from Norway, the Bredenbergs knew how to ski and one of the brothers agreed to teach skiing along with another ski teacher named Hans Jacobsen.[233]

The numerous reasons for skiing remained much as they had nearly a decade before. As before the war, the club claimed that skiing was popular because it was simply the winter compliment to golf.[234] The fact that skis "involve[d] onli trifli[ng] expens" also encouraged the sport's growth.[235] Citing a recent magazine article, the club pointed out that skiing was an antidote to depression and was good for ones health. By getting out on skis, a person might see "books in running brooks; sermons in stones, and good in everything."[236] Skiing was also fun. Skis "were to sno shoes as wi[ng]s ar to feet," announced the *Club Notes*.[237] With people experimenting with ski sailing, ski boating, and ski joring, it was clear to the club that the "ski [was] king."[238]

The increasing interest in physical fitness at the club signaled a shift in club's self-perception. For years, the Lake Placid Club had been an exclusive group that attracted members through word of mouth. The club was not open to the public.[239] Under the Sno Birds leadership, however, the club envisioned itself as an instrument for promoting national physical fitness, particularly by teaching the nation to ski.

In many ways, the Sno Birds had the same goals as collegiate outing clubs. It sought social cohesion and camaraderie. Featuring a logo that depicted a white bird against a blue background, the Sno Birds established their own charter and by-laws but remained a part of the Lake Placid Club.[240] The group even maintained the club's commitment to transforming Lake Placid into a European-style resort, but its larger goal was to foster "good fellowship," "equality of the sexes," good competition, and "close and intimate acquaintance with nature."[241] To this end "Each member plejd to lend his personal influence in making winter life at the club wholesome, happy and profitable to mind, body and spirit."[242] The Sno Birds promoted this friendly atmosphere by offering memberships to not only individuals but also to families for $2 and $5 respectively. The club then applied these fees toward purchasing trophies and staging competitions among other events.[243] In 1921, for example, members gathered in the Music Room and Octagon where three "eminent NY lawyers" led a rally, which was followed by the screening of 600 feet of motion pictures taken only one-week prior by the Associated Screen

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[232] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1918.
[233] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1920.
[234] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1919.
[235] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1919.
[236] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March 1920.
[237] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, September-December 1917.
[238] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1919.
[239] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1911.
[240] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1920. For reference to the charter, see Lake *Placid Club Notes*, January 1922.
[241] Rauch, "Inventing Winter Sports," 13 in Manchester. *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1922.
[242] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1926.
[243] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1923.

News.[244] This gathering was a harbinger of what has become an annual ski industry ritual in which skiers and snowboarders gather each fall to watch ski movies and celebrate the approaching winter.

Like the DOC, the Sno Birds focused on promoting winter recreation through staging competitions and building trail networks. The Sno Birds' promotion of winter sports and competition was not simply to entertain its visitors. For the club, staging competitions was a way of "inducing some 1000s each year to build up their own health and strength not by grandstand enthusiasm for an occasional hour, but by daily active participation in the sports themselves."[245] No more than a few months after its founding, the Sno Birds arranged for a ski jump competition that featured two Swiss skiers, both of whom had won competitions in Switzerland. As incentive, the club had prizes for professional jumpers and trophies for amateurs who competed in either the jumping competition or the combined jumping and cross-country competition. To the club's great delight, men, women, and children all showed up to watch the events.[246]

Lake Placid and Racial Survival

As noted above, the Lake Placid Club's interest in promoting winter outdoor sports was part of an agenda to promote health generally. This mission must be understood within the racial concerns of the 1920s. The linkage between athletics and racial strength was well established before Lake Placid began offering winter vacations. During the waning years of the nineteenth century there was a concern about the decline in birth rates of native-born families. Men like General Francis A. Walker, the president of M.I.T. and former professor of political economy at Yale, pointed out that the census figures for the 1880s revealed the lowest ever total population growth in the country, but an alarmingly high number of foreign immigrants, numbering 5.25 million for the decade.[247] It was clear to many that either immigration would have to be curtailed or Anglo-Saxons would have to change their habits and start reproducing if they were to remain dominant. Indicative of this type of thinking were books like Reverend John Ellis's *The Deterioration of the Puritan Stock and Its Causes* (1884), which alerted native-born Americans to the danger at hand.[248] Other authors encouraged women, in particular, to engage in vigorous, healthy activities to ensure that the nation produced healthy children. Golf, basketball, tennis, and badminton all qualified as suitable, low-impact sports for women.[249] Smith and Mount Holyoke as well as the Universities of Minnesota and Wisconsin created sports teams to encourage female health.[250]

The fears of race suicide persisted into the 1920s, and in some ways grew more acute. The continuing influx of large numbers of eastern and southern immigrants caused a cadre of academics and upper-class Americans to perceive the demise of the Puritan ruling class. Madison Grant, a board member of the American Museum of Natural History and Chairman of the New York Ecological Society, addressed these fears in *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916), a book

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[244] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1921.
[245] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1922.
[246] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1921.
[247] Jonathan Peter Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2009), 97-8.
[248] Green, *Fit for America*, 224-5.
[249] Ibid., 225-6.
[250] Ibid., 226-8.

that explained the progress of European history as the contest among three races—Mediterraneans, Alpines, and Nordics. Among these groups, the Nordic race was the "white man par excellence" who had conquered much of northern Europe.[251] Although Grant wrote the book to emphasize that genetics determined the greatness of certain races, he nevertheless accorded the environment a small, but significant, role in developing the "Great Race." According to Grant, harsh winters and extreme weather conditions of northern Europe encouraged the evolution of Nordics because such climate required "industry and foresight in providing the year's food, clothing and shelter during the short summer."[252] The demands of the northern climate created a "strong, virile and self-contained race which would inevitably overwhelm in battle nations whose weaker elements had not been purged by the conditions of an equally severe environment."[253] Grant described Nordics as having "wavy brown or blond hair and blue, gray or light brown eyes, fair skin, high, narrow and straight nose, which are associated with stature and a long skull, as well as [having] abundant head and body hair."[254] If a person could not conjure up an image of a Nordic from Grant's description, he might either travel to Sweden, where Grant claimed the largest concentration of Nordics resided, or take a look at the English illustrated newspapers, which, according to Grant, published pictures of the Nordic-looking officers who had been killed in the Great War.[255]

Grant's subject may have been European history, but his audience was American. The history that he described had serious implications for a multi-racial country like the United States. America, Grant emphasized, had been founded by British descendents of the Angles, a branch of the Nordic race.[256] Like Europe's Nordics, American Nordics, too, were under siege from lesser races. America's liberal immigration policies and the country's belief in itself as a melting pot threatened the racial purity of American Nordics. Grant even suggested that the "native American of Colonial descent" would become extinct if Americans continued to "blind [themselves] to all 'distinctions of race, creed or color.'"[257]

The cultural impact of *The Passing of the Great Race* is perplexing considering that the book was released during World War I, a period in which one branch of the "Great Race," German Teutons, were being credited for a litany of atrocities. Classified as a work of science, the book initially only sold only 17,000 copies.[258] Despite these limitations, Grant's words resonated in elite circles. In promotional material for the book, none other than athlete/president Theodore Roosevelt praised Grant for his "fearlessness in assailing the popular and mischievous sentimentalities and attractive and corroding falsehoods which few men dare assail."[259] The book also received nearly universal praise in both the popular press and academic journals.[260] A few

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[251] Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race; or, the Racial Basis of European History*, 4th ed. (1916; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 167.
[252] Ibid., 170.
[253] Ibid., 170.
[254] Ibid., 167-8.
[255] Ibid., 168.
[256] Ibid., 206.
[257] Ibid., 263.
[258] Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 161.
[259] Charles Scribner's Sons, *List of Spring Publications—1917*, 1, quoted in Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 158.
[260] Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 159.

academics, most notably Franz Boas, attacked the book for ignoring facts, but the limits of genetics and anthropology afforded scholars little scientific data on which to counter Grant's assertions.[261]

In this intellectual climate, winter sports began to look less like simple diversions. Rather, at the Lake Placid Club, winter sports became a means for promoting Anglo-Saxon health and thus ensuring the strength of America as a nation. In many ways this development did not seem new. After all, since its founding the Lake Placid Club had explicitly excluded Jews from joining the club, though it had allowed Jews to visit the property as part of professional conferences.[262] In 1922 the club joked about the connections between race and winter recreation when it noted that "White Rabies" or "Snofobia" was a "harmless disease which is attacking increasing numbers of the Aryan race and sending them to Lake Placid Club."[263] A few years later the club proclaimed that "No race is growing soft that seeks winter camping for the zest of mastering the elements in their most rugged mood."[264] Rather than a country club retreat for the middle and upper classes, the club espoused the values of college physical education programs and began to see itself as some sort of progressive organization, whose mission was to improve the health of Anglo-Saxon Americans.

The club's choice of its winter sports directors and ski instructors indicated the new esteem for winter sports, as well. As mentioned earlier, the Lake Placid Club had initially hired instructors from Switzerland who had helped legitimize Lake Placid as an elite ski destination. The Swiss Ernest des Baillets was one of a number of these instructors who moved among various clubs offering their services. Before coming to Lake Placid, des Baillets had worked as an instructor at Tuxedo Park, another prominent country club frequented by New York City elites.[265] In 1922, the Sno Birds began to investigate hiring a new ski instructor. The club solicited recommendations from Herman Smith "Jackrabbit" Johannsen, a reputable Norwegian skier who had moved his family to the club from the New York City suburbs in 1922.[266] Johannsen was a businessman who sold heavy machinery to mining, logging, and construction firms and had developed an appreciation for the club as a place where he could escape civilization by traveling deep into the woods on the club's trails.[267] According to Johannsen, Norwegian Ornulf Poulsen was the ideal candidate for sports director because Poulsen was not commercially interested in skiing; he just loved the sport. As the owner of a successful import-export business, Poulsen was also someone with social standing. Furthermore Poulsen was a "tall, good looking, gentlemanly, clean cut fellow."[268] Henry Hicks, the secretary for the Sno Birds, found Johannsen's description appealing because he was looking for an instructor who

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[261] Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 160-1.
[262] Wayne Wiegand, *Irrepressible Reformer: A Biography of Melvil Dewey* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1996), 271.
[263] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1922.
[264] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1927.
[265] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1921. For a brief description of Tuxedo Park, see Reiss, *City Games*, 59.
[266] Alice E. Johannsen, *The Legendary Jackrabbit Johannsen* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 148-9.
[267] Johannsen, *Legenedary Jackrabbit*, 149.
[268] H. Smith Johannsen to Henry Hicks, September 27, 1922, Lake Placid Club Archives (LPCA), Lake Placid Library, Lake Placid, New York.

was “socially agreeable” and “above all else . . . a gentleman, and magnetic, so that he will be the organizing center of all our efforts to teach skiing as a normal winter sport.”[269] A dynamic figure was essential for Hicks vision of ski instruction at Lake Placid where large classes of pupils would learn to cross-country ski.[270]

Poulsen was a very active proponent of skiing, himself, and his ideas fit well with those of the club. In 1924, Poulsen published *Skiing with a Chapter on Snowshoeing*, a 199-page book that provided both the history of, and instruction in, skiing.[271] Poulsen viewed skiing as a family sport that provided a reprieve from harried urban life. In his book, Poulsen praised skiing for being a very cheap sport that was accessible to almost anyone from the “tiniest youngsters” to the “gray-haired gentlemen.”[272] It was particularly good for those workers who spent six days a week toiling in the office or the factory because it offered them a chance to feel free and in control of themselves. On skis, one was able to roam wherever; the “whole, wide, snow-covered world becomes your playground.”[273] Skiers could forego established trails and easily glide over difficult summer terrain such as marshes and brush-choked forests.[274] Skiing not only provided modern workers a sense of freedom but it also imparted a sense of control. Descending a hill, Poulsen noted, “You know you are the master of your skis, that you can turn right or turn left as occasion demands, or come to a standstill if that be best.”[275] The ski was not simply a diversion; it was a means to happiness in a world consumed by work. Importantly, Poulsen suggested that a person might “attribute [Norwegians’] high average of national health and national serenity of disposition to the ski.”[276]

Under Poulsen, the club instituted an instruction system and series of ski tests designed to encourage skiing mastery. The club provided ski lessons for beginner skiers, who, once they had mastered the basics, were allowed to follow the sports director out on cross-country adventures.[277] Instruction usually occurred in groups as the club felt that it was most effective for skiers to learn from watching others struggle.[278] To encourage ski jumping among children, the club created a range of jumps that allowed kids to move from making jumps of one meter to flights of up to fifty meters.[279]

To aid Poulsen in his endeavors, the Sno Birds hired a number of male ski instructors who served as examples of Nordic accomplishment. In 1923, the club hired a Russian-born Italian aristocrat named Marquis Nicholas degli Albizzi to share the duties of winter sports director with Poulsen.[280] Albizzi, because of his northern lineage and military pedigree, was

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[269] Henry Hicks to Smith Johannsen, December 30, 1922, LPCA.
[270] Henry Hicks to H. Smith Johannsen, September 30, 1922, LPCA.
[271] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1923; Ornulf Poulsen, *Skiing with a Chapter on Snowshoeing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924).
[272] Ibid., 17.
[273] Ibid., 24.
[274] Ibid., 24.
[275] Ibid., 21.
[276] Ibid., 17.
[277] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1924.
[278] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925.
[279] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1924.
[280] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, [October?] 1923. For information about Albizzi’s heritage, see Doug Pfeiffer, “Banff Memoir: Long Ago But Not So Far Away,” *Skiing Heritage* (June 2000): 27

someone who easily would have qualified as Nordic according to Madison Grant's standards. In *The Passing of the Great Race*, Grant had argued that Nordics could survive outside their cold "native environment" by becoming land-owners, thereby avoiding toil in the hot sun.[281] Following this logic, Italian aristocrats, despite their non-Nordic features, were actually descendents of Nordic tribes who had overrun the Roman empire.[282] *Lake Placid Club Notes* described Albizzi as Grant might have, highlighting the Italian's Nordic qualities. According to the *Notes*, Albizzi was at home in winter climates. He had commanded Italian ski troops in the Alps during World War I and had led a skiing campaign in Archangel, Russia, with the Inter-allied forces. An adventurer, the Marquis had come to the United States in late 1922 or early 1923 looking for new ski terrain and had served as a guide for the Colorado Mountain Club.[283] At the Lake Placid Club, Albizzi served as a symbol of bravery and courage. Rather than leading troops though mountains, he guided club members on overnight ski tours and ski trips.[284]

Yet another ski instructor who reflected the club's ideals was Norwegian Erling Strom, who was hired in 1927. In the eyes of the editors of the *Lake Placid Club Notes*, Strom was a "tall, good-looking yung Norwegian" who had proven himself a fierce competitor. Strom had competed in the Norway's Holmenkollen competition twice and had also participated in the Nordiska Spelen in Stockholm. Additionally, Strom had managed to earn a college degree and had even taken a year of business school while finding time to serve in the Norwegian Army. Strom's skiing success continued in the U.S. where he won both the 1926 U.S. Western jumping championship and the 1927 U.S. Western cross-country championship. A national tournament in Denver even named him best all-around skier in 1927.[285]

To further encourage skiing and winter health, the club instituted a number of ski tests. The easiest of these tests was a Class 3, which evaluated the basic turns and ski maneuvers necessary for stopping and hiking up hill. It also assessed a skier's correct form while sliding downhill. Skiers who passed a Class 2 test were able to complete a 10-mile cross-country trip within in a prescribed time. Those who earned a Class 1 certification were skiers who were capable of executing both Christiana and Telemark turns as well as skiing down the 3-mile Sentinel trail without falling.[286] These skiers were also required to make jumps of at least 25 feet. Although there might have been hundreds of people out on skis at any one time, the ski tests attracted relatively few people. During the first year, thirteen people passed the Class 3 test and two passed the Class 2.[287] The next year fourteen people, six of whom were women, passed the Class 3 evaluation. Seven women also partially passed the new Class 2B test, which required examinees to both ski 10-miles in under 2½ hours and also execute all major turns and stops.[288] The limited success of the tests was born out in the George Martin's evaluation of winter season for 1927-28, which stated that the ski tests were "both unfair and discouraging to those wishing

[281] Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, 41.
[282] Ibid., 42.
[283] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1923, [October?] 1923.
[284] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925.
[285] *Lake Placid Club Notes* 191, December 1927, 1773.
[286] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925, 1382. For information about the Sentinel Trail, see *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1924.
[287] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925, 1382.
[288] *Lake Placid Club Notes* 180, November 1926, 1569.

to advance themselves in the skisport."[289] The standards, according to Martin were simply too high. A club member essentially had to win or be a runner-up at the major National Ski Association competitions to earn the club's Class 1 certification.

Despite the limited popularity of the ski tests, skiing flourished in Lake Placid during the 1920s. Whereas skiers could enjoy twenty miles of trails in 1918, by 1926 they had fifty-five miles at their disposal.[290] Groups such as the Appalachian Mountain Club claimed that the Lake Placid Club had the best skiing facilities in the nation.[291] By the end of the 1926-27 winter season, the demand for trails was such that the club considered using old bridle paths and maintaining old logging roads for skiers' enjoyment.[292] Skier's were also beginning to experiment more with downhill skiing. In fact, the most popular trail was the Sentinel Trail, a three-mile downhill path that provided "20 minutes of pure joy of flyt."[293] The club's enthusiasm for skiing on the Sentinel trail, though, had limited association with the club's goals of promoting health. Rather, the thrill of downhill skiing echoed the earlier fascination with tobogganing. "Neither roller coaster nor airplane can furnish thrills to rival the Sentinel run," claimed the *Club Notes*.[294] Skiing was fast and dangerous. "Meteoric speed, a dozen crises averted in les than as many minutes, and finally the intoxicating triumf of danjer met and conquered: these ar the joys of skilful ski running."[295] The versatility of the ski made it the "monarch of the winter world." Skiing made all other sports obsolete because it combined the "swiftness of tobogganing, the balance of skating, and the ability of a snowshoer to get about on deep snow."[296]

As an indication of the club's new interest in downhill skiing it hired British skier Barry Caulfeild to assist sports director George Martin in 1928. Unlike the club's Norwegian instructors who the club had described as businessmen and gentlemen, Caulfeild's sole qualification was that he was a downhill skier. According to the *Club Notes*, Arnold Lunn, the editor of the reputable *Ski Club of Great Britain Year Book*, had praised Caulfeild as someone unparalleled in his "sheer grace and movement."[297] Lunn had also claimed that Caulfeild could win a contest against the best downhill skiers. Even the famous Austrian ski teacher Hannes Schneider considered Caulfeild an exceptional skier; only three Germans were faster.[298]

Collegiate Culture and Winter Sports

The social aspects of winter sports appealed considerably to the new collegiate culture that came to full fruition in the 1920s. During this period, college students increasingly valued their peers for their involvement in social activities rather than respecting them for their dedication to their studies. In fact, students often concealed their interest in academic subjects for

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289 George W. Martin, "Report on Winter Season, 1927-28," LPCA.
290 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1918; February 1926.
291 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1926.
292 Sno Birds Secretary Report, February 20, 1927, LPCA.
293 *Lake Placid Club Notes* (December 1923): 1143.
294 *Lake Placid Club Notes* 180 (November 1926): 1557.
295 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, Winter 1928.
296 Reginald T. Townsend, "Lake Placid Days," *Country Life*, January 1925.
297 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, Winter 1928. For Lunn's service as the *Year Book*'s editor, see Allen, *Culture*, 83.
298 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, Winter 1928.

fear of being labeled a "grind."[299] Students were constantly engaged in non-academic pursuits. At the University of Wisconsin in 1925, for example, there were not only thirty college dances per month but also eighty fraternity and sorority dances. The University of Michigan was no less active as female students attended an average of eleven social events a month whereas men attended nine.[300] Students not only engaged in activities on campus, but they increasingly sought excitement in nearby urban areas as well as at neighboring universities.[301]

The more mobile and socially oriented youth sought out all sorts of venues that allowed them to mingle and reinforce their own generational similarities. From its early days, Lake Placid was one of these places. The club was proud of its collegiate associations and fittingly hung thirty college flags in the big game room in Forest Hall.[302] For years, in fact, college students outnumbered all other groups at the club during the Christmas holiday.[303]

The large presence of college students encouraged the club in the 1920s to institute a college week that created the atmosphere of 1920s college life.[304] Similar to the universities, Lake Placid offered students an array of social events. The club orchestra held concerts and students had the chance to attend dances as well as a costume ball on the ice rink. In 1923, entertainment included a skating exhibition by three figure skaters from the U.S. Olympic Team.[305]

In addition to the social activities, the club also staged competitions. The first competition the club established was a team event in which in which schools competed for points in cross country skiing, ski jumping, and ice skating. The school that amassed the most points won the Harding Trophy, an award that President Warren G. Harding had actually presented to the club. Such trophies bestowed the winter competitions with a level of respectability. With numerous years of experience in skiing and snowshoeing, the Dartmouth Outing Club, unsurprisingly, won the inaugural competition.[306] Individual competitions were also popular. Foremost among these was the ski jumping competition that featured fearless jumpers who raced down a steep hill and soared off jumps for flights of up to 100 feet. To acknowledge the bravery required to win the ski jump, the Sno Birds created the Marshal Foch trophy, an award that was donated through the U.S. Embassy by Ferdinand Foch, the French general and military theorist who accepted the German armistice in 1918.[307]

The club's liberal policy toward contestants also crossed the gender line in 1925 when it offered the Mary A. MacKay Trophy for female collegians. The trophy's winner was the woman who performed the best in five events that included a 3-mile cross-country race, a ¼ mile skating

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[299] Paula S. Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 174-75.
[300] Ibid., 199.
[301] Ibid., 205.
[302] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 29 (February 1, 1909).
[303] Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], LPCA.
[304] Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], Lake Placid Club Archives, Lake Placid Library, Lake Placid, New York.
[305] "Lake Placid Club Winter Sports College Week," press release, [1923], LPCA
[306] Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], Lake Placid Club Archives.
[307] Sno Birds Minutes, January 1, 1923, LPCA

race, a figure skating performance, a ski-efficiency test, and a 100-yard snowshoe dash.[308] The women competed as individuals since there were no female winter sports teams.[309] Nevertheless, the club identified female competitors by the college they attended. The list of represented colleges included Barnard College, Northwestern, Marymount, Bryn Mawr, Smith, and Vassar among others.[310] The club provided very little information about these competitions other than to note that women were the equals of men in figure skating.[311] To encourage more women to compete, the club assuaged fears that College Week might encourage moral impropriety by assuring parents and other club members that women would be "surrounded by wholesome influences, including counsel, fellowship and, if wisht, chaperonaj of influential collej women graduates among Club members and officers."[312]

The Lake Placid club so valued competition that the club actually relaxed its membership qualifications, inviting every college in the snowbelt to participate.[313] Despite the open invitation, all participants still had to be approved by other club members. To facilitate this process, the club provided interested participants with a list of members whom potential competitors could contact to receive a club introduction. Although they were technically guests, participants were actually charged member's rates for accommodations.[314] In this way, the club remained a "family resort," full of people who actually knew each other.[315]

The club's interest in promoting healthy bodies even extended to children. In 1926, Sno Bird officials approved a plan to hold an interscholastic sports carnival in which the boys from the Lake Placid Club Boys School would compete. In the tradition of the British Public Schools, the club planned competitions in hockey, skiing, and snowshoeing as well as in figure and speed skating.[316] The club hoped to put itself at the forefront of promoting winter sports among schools.[317] Unfortunately, few schools actually had the necessary equipment for the competitions. Of the fifty-five prep schools that the Boys School invited to compete, only eight schools replied that they were interested. Complicating things further was the fact that none of these schools had anyone to compete in skiing, snowshoeing or figure skating. A few had hockey teams, though.[318]

By 1927, the Sno Birds had begun discussing an international competition modeled after tennis' Davis Cup. The original vision for the competition was for a contest in ski jumping and cross-country between the U.S. and Canada.[319] Creating a competition that allowed foreigners to participate raised some concern, though. At the planning meeting, one club member suggested that this event be limited to American-born Anglo-Saxon skiers. This proposal, however, was not

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308 "Opening of Wintersports Season at Lake Placid Club," December 16, 1924, LPCA; *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925.
309 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1927.
310 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1926.
311 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1927.
312 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1926.
313 Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], LPCA
314 Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], LPCA
315 Lake Placid Club Press Release, [1922], LPCA
316 Sno Birds Minutes, 25 October 1926, LPCA.
317 Sno Birds Secretary Report, 20 February 1927, LPCA.
318 Sno Birds Secretary Report, 20 February 1927, LPCA.
319 Sno Birds Minutes, December 30, 1927, LPCA.

approved.[320] By 1928, the club had opened the competition to Europeans, inviting four of them to attend the event.[321]

The Sno Bird's belief that winter sports were essential healthy activities compelled them to promote winter sports nationally by joining national organizations and establishing contacts throughout the country. By 1925, the club had established affiliations with numerous regional and national sporting groups including the National Ski Association, the United States Eastern Amateur Ski Association (the Eastern), the United States Figure Skating Association, and the Grand National Curling Association.[322] The club made plans to stock up on skiing literature such as the National Ski Association's annual *Ski Sport*.[323] It also voted to work closely with the Eastern in drumming up enthusiasm for skiing in other communities by providing its affiliate with monetary support.[324] Its belief in the health-giving qualities of skiing even encouraged the club to organize a skiing committee that planned to establish contacts with colleges and prep schools throughout the United States not only to encourage winter sports and entries in the club's competitions but also help introduce winter sports to departments of physical education.[325]

The Sno Birds involvement in national and international promotion of skiing occurred at the same time that the National Ski Association (NSA), the leading American ski organization, was losing its national prominence in ski affairs. Whereas the NSA had joined the International Ski Federation (FIS) and fielded a team of mostly Norwegians immigrants for the 1924 Olympics in Chamonix, by 1928 it expressed no interest in cobbling together a team for the games in St. Moritz.[326] With the NSA vacating its position of authority, the process for selecting Olympic team members became much more random. One of the team's members, Charley Proctor, recalled that there was no competition to join the team. Instead, selection committee members merely searched around for who was available.[327]

The 1932 Winter Olympics at Lake Placid

Although the NSA lacked the enthusiasm for international competitions, the Lake Placid Club was keenly interested. By 1928, the United States had already been awarded the right to host the Olympic Games, which in the 1920s meant hosting both the summer and the winter. Los Angeles had been selected for a summer venue, but no winter location had been determined. Sometime in late 1927, members of the American Olympic Association contacted Godfrey Dewey, Lake Placid Club secretary and son of the club's founder Melvil Dewey, to see if the club would be willing to host the 1932 winter games.[328]

To host the games, the club first had to figure out what it took to host such an event. Godfrey Dewey took it upon himself to conduct the research. Rather than attending the Olympics as a spectator, Dewey managed to get himself appointed as the ski team's manager.[329] Once in

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[320] Sno Birds Minutes, December 30, 1927, LPCA.
[321] Sno Birds Board of Governors Minutes, March 19, 1928, LPCA.
[322] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1925.
[323] Sno Birds Executive Committee Minutes, January 3, 1925, LPCA.
[324] Sno Birds Board of Governors Minutes, March 19, 1928, LPCA.
[325] Sno Birds Minutes, February 20, 1927, LPCA.
[326] Allen, *Skisport*, 91-2.
[327] Allen, *Skisport*, 92.
[328] Ortloff, *Lake Placid*, 49.
[329] Allen, *From Skisport*, 92.

St. Moritz, Dewey also served as an alternate for the bobsled team when not meeting with the mayor of St. Moritz to talk about the staging of the games. The visit convinced Dewey that there was no reason that the Lake Placid Club could not hold the Olympics. The only sports facility it lacked was a bobsled track comparable to St. Moritz's Cresta Run.[330]

When Dewey returned from Europe, he began to assemble a proposal for securing the 1932 Olympic Games. The Lake Placid Club was not alone in its bid for the games. Six other areas were being considered for event, including Lake Tahoe, Yosemite, Denver, Minneapolis, Duluth, and Bear Mt., New York.[331] According to Dewey, he had only $50,000 and a legislative resolution to argue for the games.[332] California, on the other hand, had $3 million at its disposal. Fortunately for the Lake Placid Club, California had no ski organization comparable to the Lake Placid Club, which had been involved in winter sports since 1905.[333] The club's experience hosting winter events put Lake Placid at the forefront of the American field. In fact, Lake Placid was the only American site that was seriously considered. Upon his return to the U.S., Dewey explained that Montreal and Oslo had been runners-up for the Olympic bid. [334]

Dewey's victory in securing the games for the Lake Placid Club was a remarkable achievement and marked the culmination of the club's efforts to promote winter sports. The games showcased events in skating, skiing, hockey, and bobsledding and brought participants from sixteen foreign nations.[335] Journalists helped publicize the event with daily intrigue on the skating matches and bobsledding casualties.[336] The ski jump and bobsled attracted the highest numbers according to the club, which estimated crowds of 15,000 and 20,000 respectively.[337] In the days immediately preceding these events, Lake Placid swelled with spectators. The New York Central reported that it carried seventeen carloads of passengers to Lake Placid on February 10 and noted that it planned to carry 1,500 additional riders on February 11. To accommodate all the riders, the railroad had to arrange for three additional trains to transport forty Pullman cars north to the games.[338] Not everyone took the train or drove. Some flew to Lake Placid and parked their planes on the frozen surface of Mirror Lake.[339]

The large numbers of spectators helped to sell out most events. The demand for tickets was so high that standing-room tickets for the women's figure skating final sold for $5.[340] Despite rainy weather that cancelled the bobsled competition, 7,000 people still turned out to

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330 Godfrey Dewey, interview by Ed Hale, 17 December 1976, Adirondack Oral Biography Collection. Lake Placid Public Library, Lake Placid, New York.
331 Ortloff, *Lake Placid,* 49.
332 Dewey interview.
333 Allen, *Skisport*, 93.
334 "Dr. Dewey Returns, Tells of Olympics," *New York Times*, May 5, 1929, 5.
335 Allen, *From Skisport*, 93.
336 For an example see "Norse Skaters Lose Again in Rerun," NY Times, Feb. 17, 1932
337 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March-February 1932.
338 "Travel by Railroad to Olympics Heavy," *New York Times*, February 11, 1932.
339 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, March-February 1932.
340 "Winter Olympics a Sell-Out, Standing Room $5 a Person," *New York Times*, February 11, 1932.

watch the ski jump.[341] In total, the games attracted an estimated 80,000 people who watched 364 competitors.[342]

Although a financial failure, the Lake Placid Winter Games marked the crest of Lake Placid's popularity as a winter resort, but they did not inspire the development of more winter resorts. In many ways, the Olympic Games were little different than the winter carnivals that the club had held for years. They were a spectacle that allowed the crowds to watch people fly through the air and hurtle down ice tracks at frightening speeds.

Lake Placid's far bigger success was in promoting recreational skiing and winter play. During the 1920s, the club was part of a larger national trend that began to value sports as simply acceptable fun rather than healthy, body-firming activities. The club emphasized its healthy air and scenery less and, instead, encouraged its guests to rejuvenate themselves through frivolous fun. The *Club Notes* proclaimed that "In this frost-swept air a man slufs his cocoon of business worries and frolics like a boy. A woman discards household cares with cumbersome skirts which are replaced with knickers. Children fit easily into Club's wholesome spirit. Jack Frost is eager to be their playmate."[343] Visitors began to pay attention to the people in brightly colored winter clothing rather than the natural scenery. Women received particular notice for wearing all sorts of colors and for wrapping themselves in alluring knickers, scarves, and tams.[344] Even the ice rink attracted attention for appearing like a "pond where a flock of tropical birds have paused to play."[345] Lake Placid was a spectacle of color where people played all sorts of games, including ice baseball, ice golf, and jimkanas.[346]

This image of winter contrasted starkly with that found in the cities, where snow and ice was a nuisance. After all, as the *Club Notes* pointed out, "snow isn't noticed in the cities—they think it is soot."[347] According to the *New York Herald*, snow in New York was "tired, defeated, spiritless stuf that collects in the side streets, which seems to lose the power to melt even under the sun."[348] At Lake Placid, however, snow was a symbol of vitality.

Lake Placid was not the only location for winter frivolity. As newspapers reported, many people flocked to the Berkshires and White Mountains to reinvigorate themselves with sport.[349] But the club was the standard. As early as 1920, Abercrombie and Fitch referred to Lake Placid and the Adirondacks as a desirable location for trying out the firm's winter clothes and sporting equipment.[350] The *Club Notes* reminded readers that hundreds of newspapers and magazines as well as newsreels featured stories about the club, which fed media outlets with reports of its daily competitions.[351] Lake Placid remained the standard because it had virtually no competitors.

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[341] "Olympic Ski Title Kept by Norwegian," *New York Times*, February 12, 1932.
[342] Allen, *Skisport*, 95.
[343] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1925.
[344] Townsend, "Lake Placid Days."
[345] *Boston Transcript*, n.d. in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1925: 1244.
[346] *Boston Transcript*, n.d. in *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1925: 1244.
[347] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, November 1921.
[348] *New York Herald Tribune*, n.d. in *Lake Placid Club Notes* 181 (December 1926).
[349] *New York* Tribune, January 6, 1923 in Lake *Placid Club Notes*, March 1923.
[350] "A&F: The Greatest Sporting Goods Store in the World," advertisement, *New York Times*, January 6, 1920, 8.
[351] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, February 1927, 1609

Three years after the winter games, the *Christian Science Monitor* stated that few people could deny that Lake Placid was the "capital of winter sports land in the United States."[352]

Despite the club's success, it is startling how few entrepreneurs tried to develop comparable facilities to attract wealthy tourists seeking a healthy winter break. Unfortunately for the club, interest in downhill or alpine skiing ultimately caused the club to lose its prominence. Although the club could offer trails such as the Sentinel, the area's best ski hills were located in the Adirondack Park, state land that was protected from development by the "Forever Wild" Amendment, Article 14 of the New York State constitution.[353] There had to be a constitutional amendment to allow for the cutting of trees in these areas.

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[352] *Christian Science Monitor*, January 23, 1935.
[353] Ortloff, *Lake Placid*, 166.

Chapter Four
Ski America First:
The Forest Service, the Union Pacific Railroad, and the Development of Sun Valley Ski Resort

Nearly every historian who has discussed the history of ski resorts has pointed to the creation of Sun Valley ski resort in 1936 as a watershed moment in winter recreation and tourism history.[1] Bankrolled by the Union Pacific Railroad, Sun Valley is credited with ushering in the era of the destination ski resort thanks to the marketing genius of Steve Hannagan, a man who first made Miami Beach a household name and later did the same for Sun Valley, a ski resort that the Union Pacific named before it had picked an appropriate location.[2] Although Hannagan wrote that he was underwhelmed by the resort's ultimate location in Ketchum, Idaho, he nevertheless managed to create the images that set the standard for ski resorts in America for the next two decades.[3] Although a fascinating tale, the story of Sun Valley is far more than a description of a how a large corporation made a successful foray into winter sports. It is instead the tale of how the Forest Service and American business came to see snowy mountains as resources. The majority of the most reliable ski terrain is located in the National Forests. Places such as Sun Valley only succeeded because they worked with a Forest Service that viewed the forests as products. The result was the creation of a ski mountain that was a symbol of leisure, technology, and consumerism, not a marker of fitness and nature's unpredictability.

The Forest Service, Recreation, and Wilderness

In 1905 when the Forest Service was established, no one could have guessed that it would have a role in any time of recreation. After all, the organization had been created primarily to administer the country's dwindling timber resources, but it quickly took on a role overseeing grazing, watershed management, and wildlife conservation. It had experts who dealt with these issues. Recreation was not its concern, initially.[4] As noted in Chapter 3, recreation was the domain of outdoor clubs that promoted excursions as a means of countering the sedate, enervating lifestyle of modern, urban living. The Sierra Club, Appalachian Mountain Club, and the Lake Placid Club were among the original organizations that promoted these outings for America's urban middle class. They equated the forest with natural healing and re-creation.

Only in the 1910s did a confluence form between the interests of outing clubs and the Forest Service begin to emerge. The cause of that union was the automobile. The abundance of campers and outdoors enthusiasts who arrived in the National Forests in their cars forced the

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[1] For references to the effect of Sun Valley on winter recreation, see Mergen, *Snow in America*, 103-8; Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 143-44; Coleman, *Ski Style*, 74-77; Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 186-201. For more popular histories of Sun Valley see Wendolyn Holland, *Sun Valley: An Extraordinary History* (Ketchum, Idaho: The Idaho Press, 1998); Dorice Taylor, *Sun Valley* (Sun Valley, Idaho: Ex Libris, 1980); Doug Oppenheimer and Jim Poore, *Sun Valley: A Biography* (Boise, Idaho: Beatty Books, 1976).
[2] Averell Harriman, interview by Deanne Thompson, August 10, 1983, transcript, Oral History Collection, The Community Library, Ketchum, Idaho, 12-13.
[3]Steve Hannagan to Harriman, March 28, 1936, Box 739. W. Averell Harriman Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as WAH)
[4] Samuel P. Hayes, *The American People, the National Forests: The First Century of the U.S. Forest Service* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009), 25-25.

Forest Service to address recreation opportunities in the forests. One of the initial ways in which the Forest Service engaged with recreation was through the Term Permit Act of 1915, legislation which permitted the Forest Service to grant 30-year permits for home sites, resort sites, and other recreation venues. The act not only granted space in the forest to recreationists but it also provided the Forest Service with a source of revenue.[5] Not all Americans, though, wanted, or could afford, to build a home in the woods. Many people simply enjoyed camping. Campers made the most of public forests by pitching their tents wherever they chose. Unsupervised campers, though, were often cited for causing forest fires, which destroyed valuable timber. They also raised awareness about questionable logging practices that they observed in the forests.[6] For an organization aimed at sustainably harvesting timber, the Forest Service realized it had to protect its logging concerns by shielding logging areas from campers.[7] To this end, the Forest Service created specific areas designated for camping.[8]

To explore more fully the recreational possibilities in the forests, the Forest Service hired landscape architect Franklin Waugh who set about studying the West's National Forests.[9] Waugh's study argued for the preeminence of recreation in the forests, noting that "Historically it appears that National Forests were first created for the purposes of recreation." He also recommended that the service create more campgrounds, picnic areas, and even towns within the nation's forests to better accommodate recreationists.[10]

Although seemingly innocuous, Waugh's conclusions and the Forest Service's interest in management of recreation raised concern within the federal government and the public at large that thought the Forest Service should only concern itself with forestry. Development of roadways was largely to blame for some of the Forest Service's conflicts. In 1916, the Forest Service received $10 million to develop roads as part of ten-year road development plan outlined in that year's Federal Highway Act. Subsequent Federal Highway Acts in 1919 and 1921 increased funding. Although new roads were intended to help the Forest Service not only manage the forests but also connect isolated communities, these roads also served as conduits for recreation tourists, whose visits to the national forests increased four-fold from 1917 to 1924.[11] In 1925 the Secretary of Agriculture William Jardine responded to this flurry of activity by criticizing the service for squandering too many resources by building recreational roads.[12] An article in *Outlook* magazine during the same year attacked the Forest Service for promoting

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[5] Hayes, *American People*, 69; John Ise, *The United States Forest Policy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), 305.
[6] Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), 159; Hayes, *American People*, 72.
[7] Steen, *U.S. Forest Service*,159. Not all Forest Service officials were wary of conflicts between recreationists and logging companies. Some members of the Forest Service were proud of the logging practices in the forests and wanted to put them on display for visitors.
[8] Hayes, *American People*, 72.
[9] Ibid., 70.
[10] Frank Waugh, *Recreation Uses on the National Forests* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 36.
[11] Paul S. Sutter, *Driven Wild:How the Fight against Automobiles Launched the Modern Wilderness Movement* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 62.
[12] Steen, *U.S. Forest Service*, 160.

recreation rather than forestry.[13]The Forest Service's foray into recreation also rankled the National Park Service, which felt it was the prime provider of outdoor recreation. The public, too, was more familiar with National Parks as recreation venues.[14] Some in the Forest Service were reluctant to reserve recreation areas in the forests for fear that the public would be confused about what distinguished the two organizations.[15] In addition, foresters were hesitant to take on new duties of managing recreation for individuals who objected to logging practices. After all, the Forest Service was created to manage logging not preserve the forests.[16]

Budding ideas about wilderness within the Forest Service also encouraged concerns about the value of recreation. William Buckhout Greeley, chief forester from 1920-28, was an advocate for recreation but he also recognized that there was a value in preserving certain forests from development and designating them as wilderness areas. In 1924, Greeley set aside part of the Gila National Forest in Arizona as a protected wilderness area.[17] Three years later Greeley rejected, for the second time, a proposal to build a commercially run cable car to the top of Mount Hood in Oregon. Greeley's reasoning was that some areas should remain free from such development and thus retain their wilderness state.[18]

Despite Greeley's decisions, places like Mt. Hood remained attractive candidates for recreational development. In fact, although Secretary Jardine had been skeptical of the Forest Service's promotion of recreation, he nevertheless arranged in 1927 for a ten-member committee of Oregon businessmen and academics to assess the development of Mount Hood. The group suggested that a hotel and tramway be built on the mountain, but Jardine scuttled the proposal, claiming the group had no good data for their conclusions.[19]

The careful examination of the recreation possibilities on Mt. Hood not only suggested a contest over the proper use of U.S. forest lands, it also indicated the business-oriented model of the Forest Service, which sought to make the most pragmatic decisions about forest use.[20] The availability of the automobile combined with new campaigns to see America's outdoors brought more people to the forests. As a result, it was only a matter of time before Mt. Hood underwent development. Although Secretary Jardine had desired more research into development on Mt. Hood, his successor proved less skeptical. Following his appointment as Secretary of Agriculture in 1929, Arthur M. Hyde authorized the creation of a hotel and cableway at Mt. Hood, delegating the developmental details to regional forester C.J. Buck.[21] By 1934, a group of businessmen and federal officials had formed the Mt. Hood Development Association, an organization that included James Mount of the Portland Winter Sports Association and Floyd V. Horton, the assistant regional forester. The federal government granted the developmental association a ten-

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[13] William L. Gregg, "Has Our Forest Service 'Gone Daffy'?" *Outlook* 139 (January 11, 1925): 226-27.
[14] Harold K. Steen, *The U.S. Forest Service: A History* (Seattle: Univeristy of Washington, 2004), 156-8.
[15] Sutter, *Driven Wild*, 66.
[16] Ibid., 63.
[17] Steen, *U.S. Forest Service*, 156.
[18] Ibid., 145.
[19] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 96-7.
[20] Harold Steen argues for the business orientation of the Forest Service in *U.S. Forest Service*, 159..
[21] Ibid., 99.

year contract to manage the new Timberline Lodge, which was to be built with WPA funding. Construction began in June 1936 and the lodge opened February 4, 1938.[22]

The public-private partnership at Mt. Hood signaled the emerging reverence for recreation within the Forest Service. With New Deal funding, the Forest Service realized it had the opportunity to more fully develop recreational options, which Chief Forester F.A. Silcox described in 1934 as "almost unlimited."[23] Silcox called for the promotion of "more adequate and pretentious facilities than those hitherto regarded as proper under our limitations."[24] Such statements were a clear indication that recreation development would be the Forest Service's focus with regard to the uses of the forest.

Outing Clubs and Skiing

The Forest Service's policy toward recreation developed alongside the recreational practices of various mountain and outdoor groups who were pioneers in winter recreation. Foremost among these organizations was the Appalachian Mountain Club (AMC), which established a tradition of upper-class winter mountain outings as healthy reprieves from urban living. The AMC, as described by members of the exclusive Lake Placid Club, was an organization in which the "standard of membership is both unusually high and scrupulously guarded."[25] A prospective member had to have more than just an interest in the mountains; he or she had to be someone. As early as the 1880s, the AMC organized winter excursions to New England's White and Green Mountains where summer mountain climbers snowshoed and even skied.[26] By the early 1900s, the club's annual snowshoe expeditions were no longer winter adventures for the club's alpinists; they were outings for all members. To accommodate members' various skills and interests, the club organized trips to multiple destinations and divided members into outing groups. During an outing to Lake Placid, for example, one group set out to summit a mountain while another pursued shorter hikes during which it staged dinners and teas. A third group stayed near the hotel where members either took easy walks and snowshoe treks or arranged for sleigh rides.[27] The Snowshoe section pioneered winter vacations to towns throughout New England.[28] Their enthusiasm for winter hiking influenced groups like the Lake Placid Club, which, in 1908, announced that it would maintain the AMC's maps, guidebooks, manuscripts, and notes on hand as well as create its own snowshoe club.[29]

By this time, a number of upper-class outing clubs had been founded on the West Coast as well. The Sierra Club came into existence in 1892 and Portland's Mazamas were created two

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[22] Ibid., 100.

[23] F.A. Silcox to Regional Forester, July 17, 1934, in United States Forest Service, Region Nine, "Forest Recreation Handbook," [Washington, D.C., 1934].

[24] Ibid.

[25] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 14, December 26, 1907.

[26] Charlotte Endicott Wilde, "Reminiscences of the Snow-Shoe Section," *Appalachia*, June 15, 1952, 52-55.

[27] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, no. 16, March 2, 1908. For a brief history of the AMC Snow-shoe section, see Wilde, "Reminiscences of the Snow-Shoe Section," 52-59.

[28] Wilde, "Reminiscences," 54-55.

[29] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 26, 1907 and March 2, 1908. For more information on the Lake Placid Club, see Chapter 2.

years later following a summiting of Mt. Hood.[30] Outdoor clubs mushroomed in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Seattle's mountain climbers formed the Mountaineers in 1906 and Denver's followed suit six years later by founding the Colorado Mountain Club. Other clubs remained more specialized such as the Syracuse Snowshoe Club, whose members included New York's Governor Charles S. Whitman and Lieutenant Governor Edward Schoeneck.[31]

As noted in the previous chapter, by the late 1910s East Coast outdoor enthusiasts were beginning to trade in their snowshoes for more versatile skis. Norwegian immigrants were key in this transformation. Beginning in the 1880s, Norwegians began forming ski clubs throughout the upper Midwest and New England to preserve and celebrate their national heritage.[32] Eventually, these clubs admitted non-Norwegians into their clubs, thus spreading the knowledge of the skisport.[33] Snowshoers found long skis particularly attractive because they allowed for faster movement across the snow. A member of the Lake Placid Club summed up the appeal of the ski by saying skis "are to snowshoes as wings are to feet."[34] Yet another writer noted that skis freed a person, allowing one to roam almost anywhere.[35]

The speed and versatility of skis were as much an allure as they were a deterrent. Skiers at this time employed virtually no technique, which meant that people quickly lost their balance as they encountered uneven or steep terrain. In Europe, as noted earlier, these problems had been solved by Hannes Schneider, an Austrian who developed the Arlberg technique, a ski style that taught skiers to crouch low with their hands thrust forward to maintain their balance. Known as the Arlberg Crouch, this ski form was little known in America beyond circles of wealthy travelers, a number of whom were AMC members, who learned it while skiing in Austria.[36]

The exclusiveness associated with the Arlberg Method began to change in 1929 when the *Boston Evening Transcript* published a feature on Otto Schniebs and the Arlberg technique. A former mechanic, artist, and sculptor, Schniebs had emigrated from the Black Forest region of Germany in 1928.[37] His first job was at a Massachusetts watch factory where he incorporated working-class diction into his thickly accented English. On weekends, the former certified ski instructor headed north to ski, attracting the attention of other skiers thanks to his technique and joviality.[38] By 1929, the Appalachian Mountain Club had hired him as their amateur instructor

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30 Susan R. Schrepfer, *Nature's Altars: Mountains, Gender, and American Environmentalism* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2005), 2p.
31 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, January 1918.
32 Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 49-50.
33 Ibid., 50-51.
34 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, September-December 1917.
35 *Lake Placid Club Notes*, October-December 1915.
36 Nathaniel L. Goodrich, "A Ski Holiday in the Alps," *Appalachia*, December 1929, 331-337, and Wilhelmine G. Wright, "Going to School in the Austrian Tyrol," *Appalachia*, December 1931, 372-77, both write of their experiences and encounters with the Arlberg Method while vacationing in the Alps. For a quick introduction to how Schneider developed his technique see Allen, *Culture and Sport*, 261.
37 *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 7, 1929; David J. Bradley, "Heil Otto!" *American Ski Annual*, 1936, 63.
38 Bradley, "Heil Otto!" 63.

and arranged for him to give a set of lectures on the Arlberg technique.[39] The affable Schniebs quickly gained popularity, and his audiences grew from just forty during his first talk to 300 by his second.[40] It was at this point that Schniebs earned a feature in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, which published a full-page spread on the instructor and his technique, complete with numerous illustrative photos. The article described how problematic the Norwegian cross-country skiing was compared to the Arlberg technique, which the paper promised would make one a "Master of [his] skis."[41] Schnieb's renown grew steadily, and by 1931 he was employed as the ski instructor at Dartmouth, having already worked with the Mountaineering Club of Harvard.[42] Though Dartmouth had been involved in winter sports for over twenty years, students praised Schniebs for resurrecting skiing and making it more popular than football.[43]

The Arlberg infused skiing with a new popularity. Skiing had long been attracted practitioners because it appealed to the growing fascination and obsession with speed and flight. Notices in the *Ski Bulletin* emphasized this point with descriptions like the following: "And when a long steep slope fell away below your ski tips, and you leaned forward and dropped—that was like flying, only better. In a plane you had the noise, and the plane itself, which were of the earth. Not the way a bird must feel. But skis were really wings."[44] By using the Arlberg Crouch, skiers achieved unimaginable speeds. The *Ski Bulletin* even reported that a skier in the Swiss Engadine raced down a 150-meter slope at an average speed of 65 MPH. During one small section, he was clocked at nearly 82 MPH.[45] In an age fascinated with all sorts of spectacles, from flag-pole sitting to marathon dancing, downhill skiing fit in perfectly.

Although skiers were learning to go faster, new ski techniques did not change the logistics of the winter sports vacation. Trips into the mountains were limited to people of means, like AMC members, who booked stays at mountain inns from which they embarked on long mountain ascents.[46] Occasionally, members hiked up snow-covered carriage roads to experience the thrill of sliding downhill.[47] Though a simple adventure, the ski outing still required a fair amount of reconnaissance and available vacation time. A person had to inquire about snow quality and determine whether there were accommodations at the desired location. Furthermore, the winter vacationer had to figure out if the roads were plowed or if the destination was accessible by train. Distant resorts like the Lake Placid Club, in the northern reaches of New York, could provide this type of information, but few places closer to Boston could do the same.

The Great Depression and Ski Trains

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[39] *Boston Transcript*, December 7, 1929; Park Carpenter, "Pre-Season Instruction for Recreational Skiing," *The U.S. Eastern Ski Annual*, 1934, 75.
[40] Bradley, "Heil Otto!" 63.
[41] *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 7, 1929.
[42] *Boston Evening Transcript*, February 21, 1931.
[43] Bradley, "Heil Otto!" 65.
[44] "Joy Sticks," *The Ski Bulletin*, January 23, 1931.
[45] "Speed," *The Ski Bulletin*, February 13, 1931.
[46] For a description of such a trip, see Jessie M. Whitehead, "Skiing at Katahdin, 1931," *Appalachia*, June 1931, 250-56.
[47] *Appalachia* had a whole section of its periodical dedicated to descriptions of excursions. For a reference to the carriage road skiing, see Excursions, *Appalachia*, June 1931, 319.

Ironically, the frustrating logistics of winter recreation became much easier following the onset of the Depression when in 1931 the Boston and Maine (B&M) Railroad initiated its winter sports train service. During the waning years of the 1920s, the AMC and the United States Eastern Amateur Ski Association had urged the Boston and Maine to offer a winter sports train like those provided in Europe.[48] European ski trains had been popular before WWI and had resumed service by 1919. These trains generally ran on Sundays and holidays from cities like Munich, which offered skiers roundtrip, same-day service to ski centers like Garmisch-Partenkirchen.[49] In January 1931, the B&M decided to take a chance and advertised a ski train to "some winter sports center where skiing, snow shoeing, and other winter activities are at their best."[50] Determining the best spot for winter sports, though, meant that neither riders nor the railroad knew the snow train's destination until days before its departure. The B&M had to make sure that the advertised destination actually had the desired commodity—snowy hillsides. To this end, the railroad contacted all potential sports centers to determine who had the best conditions within a two-hour train ride of Boston. The chosen destination was then listed in the Friday edition of the *Boston Transcript* and the Friday afternoon and Saturday morning sports pages of all other newspapers. Besides enticing riders with the promise of excellent snow conditions, the B&M also lured them with cheap tickets. Prices for a roundtrip ticket were lower than the price of a one-way fare, or between $2-3. This ticket not only included free luggage and sports equipment checks but it also guaranteed access to the train throughout the day. More than just a mode of transportation, the winter sports train was a "steam heated [*sic*] headquarters" for skiers, tobogganers, and snowshoers.[51]

Ski trains, as they came to be called, altered the nature of winter sports vacations because they offered large numbers of people a relatively cheap way of experiencing winter sports and encouraged the New England mountain towns to think of themselves as winter sports centers. A person did not have to dedicate hours to calling train stations to inquire about snow conditions nor squander additional time trying to contact inns that offered heated rooms. All skiers, tobogganers, and snowshoers had to do was show up on Saturday or Sunday morning at Boston's North Station with their equipment and buy a ticket.[52] In this way, the railroad nurtured inchoate winter sports centers and provided large numbers of people with knowledge about New England's mountains and the fun to be had in them.

The ski trains not only educated Bostonians about the recreation possibilities to the north but they also created a social space for various classes to mingle as well as disseminate ideas about skiing and winter sports. When the inaugural ski train left Boston's North Station for Warner, New Hampshire, on January 11, 1931, it had 197 people onboard, 115 of whom were AMC members, skiers who were familiar with the Arlberg technique.[53] A "Ski Special," then, might include experienced alpine skiers who wore Swiss backpacks and a ski hats as well as groups of young women in "sawed-off fur coats and flaming orange pants" who were embarking

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[48] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 104-5.
[49] "Wintersportzüge," *Der Winter* 13, no. 11/12 (1919/20), p. 168.
[50] Boston and Maine Railroad, *Announcing Boston's 1st Winter Sports Sunday Outing* (1931), Ski Train Brochures Collection, New England Ski Museum, Franconia, New Hampshire.
[51] Boston and Maine Railroad, *Announcing Boston's 1st Winter Sports Sunday Outing* (1931)
[52] Boston and Maine Railroad, *Announcing Boston's 1st Winter Sports Sunday Outing* (1931)
[53] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 104-5.

on their inaugural winter-sports outing.[54] By February, the number of passengers had grown so much that the Boston and Maine began offering ski classes for beginner, intermediate, and advanced skiers.[55] With something for every type of skier as well as an unusually good snow year, the popularity of the train increased exponentially throughout the first few months of 1931, and by the end of the season, the B&M noted that 8,371 winter sports enthusiasts and spectators had traveled on its twelve trains.[56]

The AMC heralded the train as the "most outstanding innovation of all, and the most far-reaching in its consequences" because it made skiing "convenient and inexpensive."[57] The ski train's convenience, in fact, actually caused the AMC to almost completely eliminate its weekend ski trips as well as reduce the size of its week-long excursions.[58] The trips that the club did continue to plan were organized much like those orchestrated by the railroad. Rather than announcing a destination a month in advance, the club enacted a policy of choosing a destination only three days before the excursion's departure.[59]

A key factor to allowing the AMC to schedule last-minute ski trips was the creation of new sports publications that supplied information about winter sports centers throughout the northeast. The *Ski Bulletin* and the Friday edition of the *Boston Evening Transcript* both published weekly information about snow conditions in towns throughout the northeast. Created by the AMC's Committee on Ski Excursions, the *Ski Bulletin* was a weekly winter publication that appeared each Thursday with a list on its front page of ski areas that had received snow during the past week.[60] The tiny periodical also included announcements of AMC ski trips as well as notes on recent outings and the various accommodations at winter sports centers. For those who were either unaware of the *Ski Bulletin* or unwilling to pay the $1 subscription fee, there was the more accessible Friday edition of the *Boston Evening Transcript*, which provided similar information about local ski areas.[61] For example, when AMC member Arthur C. Comey created a map of the ski centers in New Hampshire and northeastern Massachusetts and the roads leading to them, the *Boston Transcript* published it.[62] Together, these publications allowed those who had access to a car and wished to avoid the ski-train crowds to chart their winter outings. The combination of the ski press and the ski train led one AMC member to exclaim that "the new era of skiing has dawned."[63]

Whether traveling by train or by car, skiers swarmed over the northeast, particularly New Hampshire, during the early 1930s. In many ways, skiers were like campers who had invaded the nation's forests during the 1910s and had encouraged the creation of campgrounds and resort facilities. From the local to the federal level, government organizations realized the economic

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54 Greenough Abbe, "'Ski Special'," *Appalachia*, June 1931, 318.
55 *Ski Bulletin*, February 6, 1931.
56 Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing,* 104-5. The 1930-31 winter was celebrated as a break from four years of "sparse and uncertain snow." Ski terrain was available within sixty-five miles of Boston. *Appalachia*, June 1931, 311.
57 Greenough Abbe, "Summary of the Season," *Appalachia*, June 1931, 312.
58 Abbe, "Summar of the Season," 312.
59 Skiing, *Appalachia*, June 1931, 311.
60 *Ski Bulletin*, January 23, 1931.
61 Subscription information is for January 1931.
62 *Ski Bulletin*, January 23, 1931.
63 *Ski Bulletin*, February 6, 1931.

potential of attracting droves of winter recreation tourists. Unlike before the Depression, tourists were largely a welcome sight in small towns. Local communities that had once equated tourism with additional taxes, increased traffic, and myriad social changes now embraced visitors. Residents of tourist destinations realized that tourists could bring in new money, offsetting local tax burdens.[64] Advertisements, on the other hand, convinced tourists that vacations could not only be economic but also mentally and physically renewing.[65] The development of ski centers was certainly part of this Depression-era tourism boom. Skiers who came by car were likely more welcome than those who arrived by train. As noted above, ski train passengers hardly needed to venture into the towns at which the trains stopped since the trains were open to skiers throughout the day, providing shelter like a modern-day ski lodge. The destination, itself was also of little importance to skiers who were simply seeking out snow and hillsides rather than some quaint New England village atmosphere.

On the East Coast, the key to luring skiers was providing access to ski terrain, which was a difficult task considering that most Eastern hillsides were thickly covered by trees. Early ski train excursions, therefore, headed to areas that already had sloping pastures and logging roads that were easily transformed into ski trails for skiers.[66] Available roads were not always an option, though. In Phoenicia, New York, a town in the Catskill Mountains of New York, the construction of trails was only possible with the cooperation of private landowners. To lure ski trains, the Phoenicia Ski Club worked to get the cooperation of the landowners. Civilian Conservation Crews (CCC) then cut trails on the state land while locals managed trail construction on private property. It was evident how important winter tourism was for towns like Phoenicia as the local government lent its only steam shovel to aid in trail construction.[67]

The trails that townspeople and the CCC built provided the necessary bait for ski trains, but sometimes the number of ski train passengers were too much for the towns. Whereas early trains carried just over two hundred people, by February 1936 the ski train was accommodating over 900 riders and stopping at multiple villages.[68] In New Hampshire, government officials responded to overcrowding by convening a meeting with ski club leaders and hoteliers in 1932 to discuss creating a system of trails.[69] As in Phoenicia, the CCC was then enlisted to actually clear the trails.[70] By 1935, there were fifty trails that provided a total of 115 miles of skiing in New

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[64] Michael Berkowitz, "A 'New Deal' for Leisure: Making Mass Tourism During the Great Depression," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America*, Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough, eds. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001), 197.
[65] Berkowitz, "A 'New Deal' for Leisure," 198-99.
[66] The Boston and Maine's trip to Goffstown, New Hampshire, in January 1931 included 233 people. The majority of the passengers traveled north of town to practice slopes. A small group, though, hiked up South Uncanoonuc Mountain, skiing back down in soft snow along the logging road. *Ski Bulletin*, January 23, 1931.
[67] "Brevities: Notes from New York," *Ski Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (December 27, 1935), 6.
[68] A Boston and Maine ski train in February carried 923 people and stopped at Wilton, Lyndeborough, and Greenfield, towns that were just a few miles from each other in New Hampshire's White Mountain. *Ski Bulletin*, February 20, 1931.
[69] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 103, 114-115.
[70] For more about the role of the CCC in promoting outdoor recreation and American environmentalism, see Neil M. Maher, *Nature's New Deal: The Civilian Conservation Corps*

Hampshire.[71] CCC camps in Vermont also began clearing trails, enlarging parking lots, and building shelters throughout the state.[72] By 1936, skiers were eagerly anticipating further development of Vermont's ski trails, which already included challenging descents like the Nose Dive, a piste that dropped 2,400 feet in 1¾ miles.[73]

Ski fever not only spread north from Boston to New Hampshire and Vermont, it also stretched west to New York City and eventually the West Coast. Initial excitement for recreational skiing had reached New York by the end of the 1931 ski season when skiers formed both the German Ski Club and the Amateur Ski Club of New York. By the beginning of 1932, the New York Central Lines even planned to run an experimental snow train to the Catskills.[74] It was not until early 1935, though, that regular ski train service began when the Amateur Ski Club of New York convinced the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad to offer a ski train.[75]

These trends prevailed the further West one traveled. In California, the opening of winter road access to Yosemite National Park in 1927 allowed thousands of Californians to experience winter sports.[76] Skiers also had the option of staying at Yosemite's luxurious Ahwahnee Lodge. In 1933, the Southern Pacific began running ski trains from San Francisco to both Mt. Shasta and Cisco, California, a small town in the Sierra where the Auburn Ski Club had a jumping hill.[77]

Ski Instruction and Winter Resorts

With a growing market of skiers, ski areas and centers began to proliferate by the mid-1930s. Some areas were created in response to gathering crowds from ski trains. Others formed at the base of popular ski trails or near mountain lodges that skiers accessed by car. The Forest Service, National Park Service, and mountain lodges did not so much encourage winter alpine tourism as respond to it.

One of the earliest of these destination ski centers had neither a rail connection nor a famous trail when it opened. Peckett's-on-Sugar Hill in Franconia, New Hampshire, had served since 1893 as an exclusive summer inn that offered private cabins, a pool, and a nine-hole golf course to guests who included Calvin Coolidge, Herbert Hoover, Eleanor Roosevelt, John D.

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and the Roots of the American Environmental Movement (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008). Maher, though, gives only the slightest reference to the role of the CCC in developing ski trails, noting that the CCC developed trails in Yosemite, Sequoia, and Mount Rainier national parks. Maher also incorrectly notes that Mount Rainier is in Oregon. Maher, *Nature's New Deal*, 73.

[71] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 115.

[72] Perry H. Merrill, *Vermont Skiing: A Brief History of Downhill & Cross Country Skiing* (Montpelier, VT: privately printed, 1987), 5, 28-9.

[73] A. W. Coleman, "Skis Over Vermont," *Appalachia*, June 1936, 39.

[74] *Ski Bulletin*, January 1, 1932.

[75] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 107.

[76] Michael Childer, "Badger Pass and Development of Year-Round Visitation," draft section, Yosemite Administrative History Project, e-mail attachment to author, February 12, 2008., [2]

[77] "Visioning a Switzerland," *The Ski Bulletin* 3, no. 5 (January 20, 1933), 3; "'S.P.'," *The Ski Bulletin* 3, no. 6 (January 27, 1933), 3.

Rockefeller, and Supreme Court Justices Charles Evan Hughes and Harlan Fiske Stone.[78] Franconia had long enjoyed a summer tourist season due to its proximity to the Franconia Notch, where tourists since the 1830s had flocked to see the Old Man in the Mountain and the Flume, a narrow granite gorge.[79] Like the mountain inns visited by the AMC, Peckett's enjoyed the visits of winter tourists and skiers before WWI.[80] Unlike Lake Placid, however, Peckett's did not develop a robust winter season until 1929 when Katharine Peckett, the proprietors' daughter, returned from a cooking course in Europe with stories about skiing in Engelberg, Switzerland. Inspired by visions of the Swiss resort, Peckett set out to create her own little Switzerland in New Hampshire by clearing a small hill for skiing and hiring two German ski instructors.[81]

By 1932 Peckett's had a number of competitors. Skiers perusing the *Ski Bulletin* would see that there were thirty winter sports hotels in the northeast listed as popular overnight locations for ski runners. Sixteen of these were in New Hampshire.[82] Unlike summer tourist destinations such as rural villages or scenic wonders that were fixed and immobile, ski areas were far more ephemeral. A good trail was meaningless unless there was enough snow to cover it. What was a good ski destination one week was not always a sensible choice the next week. The B&M Railroad had realized this when it first began running its snow trains. It had to ensure that passengers would, indeed, find snow-covered slopes at the train's destination. As a result, any mountain location could become a popular ski destination, provided it received snow and was included on the front page of *The Skiers Bulletin*, which broke down each ski center into the following essentials: elevation, distance from Boston, amount of snow on the ground, current snow conditions, and air temperature. Skiers could thus weigh travel time against the potential ski experience. The weekend warrior could either drive 64 miles to Hi-E-Nuf Farm in Goffstown, New Hampshire, where he or she would enjoy temperatures around 8˚F and ski on "Glazed powder over breakable crust," or they could double their travel time and drive 124 miles to Canaan Inn in Canaan, New Hampshire, where they would greeted with four inches of fresh snow.[83]

To compensate for the unpredictability of nature and to ensure regular skier visits, inns and hotels copied places like Lake Placid by hiring European instructors, holding ski races, and staging winter carnivals. The Shattuck Inn in Jaffrey, New Hampshire, for example, promised guests instruction by a Norwegian named John Knudson.[84] In Wilton, New Hampshire, on the other hand, skiers were invited to enjoy a winter carnival that featured a slalom, a "long distance ski race," and sled-dog races.[85]

As in Austria, resident ski instructors ensured a more stable business than winter carnivals. By the 1930s, the resident ski instructor was hardly a new idea—even in North

[78] Allen Adler, "That Peckett Mystique: The Effect of a Serendipitous Confluence of Skiing and Cultural Power—One Example," in *2002 International Ski History Congress*, E. John B. Allen, ed. (New Hartford, Connecticut: International Skiing History Association, 2002), 17.
[79] Brown, *Inventing New England*, 54, 68.
[80] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 82.
[81] Adler, "That Peckett Mystique." 18.
[82] "Hotels for the Ski Runner," *The Ski Bulletin*, vol. 2, no.3 (January 15, 1932), 2-3, 5.
[83] "Snow Conditions," *The Ski Bulletin*, January 23, 1931.
[84] "Shattuck Inn," advertisement, *The Ski Bulletin*, February 5, 1932, 8.
[85] "Eastern Events" and "Wilton, New Hampshire Winter Carnival," advertisement, *The Ski Bulletin* 2, no. 8 (February 19, 1932), 4-5.

America. In 1911, the Montreal Ski Club had been the first organization in North America to arrange for a European to come to America to teach skiing.[86] Emile Cochand, a Swiss, arrived in Canada with 100 pairs of skis, six bobsleds, and twenty toboggans.[87] Resorts in the United States eventually followed suit. For example, in 1918, Lake Placid hired the European L. Williams to teach skiing.[88] By the early 1930s, resorts like Peckett's on Sugar Hill were offering instruction in the Arlberg technique.[89] In 1935, Katharine Peckett, while skiing at St. Anton, even convinced her instructor Otto Lang to leave Hannes Schneider's Arlberg Ski School and come work for her parents in New Hampshire. Fortunately for Peckett, Lang had longed to visit America.[90] It is likely, too, that decreasing tourist numbers in Austria affected Lang's decision. In 1933, Hitler had imposed the 1,000 Mark tax on German tourists to Austria because of Austria's resistance to National Socialism.[91] The result was a massive decline in German tourists. Whereas in 1932 328,356 German tourists had visited the Tyrol, in 1935 only 12,880 did so. Prior to 1933, Germans tourists outnumbered even Austrian guests.[92] Problems in Austria likely helped Lang overlook how pathetic Peckett's New Hampshire resort was compared to resorts in his native Austria. As Lang later recounted, the "ski resort" was nothing more than a country inn; the ski slopes were the hills on the golf course. Cannon Mountain rose to the south, but it had one narrow trail that was dangerous for even the best skiers.[93] Furthermore the snow quality was inconsistent. What was powder one day could turn to ice the next.[94] Nevertheless, Peckett's provided an initial step toward an emulating elite European resorts by hiring European ski instructors who taught wealthy guests like Nelson Rockefeller to ski.[95]

The gentle slopes and poor snow at Peckett's could only capture the interest of its ski instructors and skiers for so long. As skiers improved, they sought out new terrain that more closely approximated the steep alpine meadows that made Europe the center of the ski world. Ski pioneers like Roland Palmedo visited Peckett's and then went in search of new and better terrain. A member of the Amateur Ski Club of New York, Palmedo traveled about looking for the best ski hills and published stories in the *Ski Bulletin* about new ski areas such as Mt. Mansfield near Stowe, Vermont, which he promised had comfortable inns and a number of good trails and practice hills.[96] Places such as Mt. Mansfield quickly supplanted Peckett's, and by 1939 the

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[86] Europeans had offered skiing classes earlier than 1911, but these guides were hired once they were already in the United States. For example, in 1903, the Swiss Edward Feuz had been hired by the Banff Tourist Hotel to lead ski tours. In 1910, Austrian mountain guides were available at the hotel. Allen, *Culture and Sport of Skiing*, 235.

[87] Chas Cochand with Morten Lund and Dough Pfeiffer, "The Incredible Emile Cochand," *Skiing Heritage* 21, no. 4 (December 2009), 32. According to John Allen, it was the Laurentian Mountain Association that originally hired Cochand. Allen, *Sport and Culture of Skiing*, 235.

[88] *Lake Placid Club Notes*, December 1918.

[89] "Peckett's on Sugar Hill," advertisement, *The Ski Bulletin* 2, no. 1 (January 1, 1932), 5.

[90] Otto Lang, *A Bird of Passage: The Story of My Life* (Seattle: SkyHouse Publishers, 1994), 80.

[91] Forscher, *Zur Gast*, 258.

[92] Schober, *Tirol*, 277-8, 289.

[93] Lang, *Bird of Passage*, 100.

[94] Lang, *Bird of Passage*, 100.

[95] Land, *Bird of Passage*, 103.

[96] Roland Palmedo, "Stowe, Vermont," *The Ski Bulletin*, vol. 2, no. 10 (March 18, 1932), 2-3; Adler, "Peckett Mystique," 20.

mountain inn had been abandoned by its elite guests and ski instructors and ceased to offer a winter season.[97]

While Peckett's captured the attention of skiers on the East Coast, Yosemite National Park did the same on the West Coast. In hopes of securing the 1932 Winter Olympics, Donald Tressider hired Ernest des Baillets to create a winter recreation program to make the park competitive. He also hired Jules Fritsch, a Swiss, to run the Yosemite Ski School.[98] Yosemite lost its Olympic bid to Lake Placid, but its winter program stayed in tact. By 1932, the President of the California Ski Association estimated that there were around 60,000 Californians taking to the mountains to ski during the weekends and optimistically forecasted that this number would soon increase a quarter million.[99] The opening of Yosemite's Wawona Tunnel in 1933 created further opportunities for recreation because it provided access to the slopes above Yosemite Valley. The following winter, Yosemite attracted roughly 10,000 visitors, causing Donald Tressider, the President of the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, to submit plans to Yosemite National Park officials for the creation of a ski house, ski trails, ski lift, and parking lot within the park at Badger Pass.[100]

Yosemite was not alone in its developments. While the Department of the Interior was outlining its problems with Tressider's proposal, the Works Progress Administration was solidifying plans for the construction of Timberline Lodge, a large hotel on the south face of Mt. Hood in Oregon intended for skiers.[101] To the north, Mt. Rainier National Park had elected to keep the Paradise Inn, its summer lodge, open throughout the winter.

Resorts soon began to take shape in other parts of the country as well. In Colorado, Colorado Mountain Club members flocked to a trail above Mary Jane Creek near West Portal, Colorado, while the Colorado highway department had enlarged the parking lot at Berthoud Pass.[102] Private business interests were also busy envisioning the Colorado Rockies as the Bavarian Alps. At a party in Pasadena, California, T.J. Flynn, an owner of mine claims in Aspen, Colorado, and Billy Fiske, a two-time Olympic bobsled champion, discovered a mutual interest in creating a European-themed resort near Aspen, Colorado. With the help of banker Ted Ryan, the men formed the Highland Bavarian Corporation and by fall 1936 had built a small lodge seven miles outside of Aspen.[103]

The Discovery of Sun Valley: The Union Pacific and the Winter Resort Passenger

The plans of the Highland Bavarian Corporation, Donald Tressider, and other groups and organizations in the mid-1930s indicated that skiing was more than a recreation; it was the basis for a new winter tourist industry. Although numerous eastern railroads had realized the business opportunities of catering to skiers, by 1935 the Union Pacific Railroad had yet to invest in winter

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[97] Adler, "Peckett Mystique," 20.
[98] Morten Lund, "The Short, Sweet Life of Hannes Schroll in America," *Skiing Heritage* 21, no. 4 (December 2009), 10.
[99] *The Ski Bulletin*, March 4, 1932.
[100] Childer, "Badger Pass and Development of Year-Round Visitation," [2-5].
[101] Mergen, *Snow in America*, 100.
[102] Ski Notes, *Trail and Timberline*, no. 196, February 1935, 19; Group Activities, *Trail and Timberline*, no. 196, February 1935, 24.
[103] Coleman, *Ski Style*, 77.

tourism as a way of luring people out of their Fords and Oldsmobiles and into the U.P.'s passenger cars. The western United States beckoned to the railroad and skier alike.

W. Averell Harriman, the chairman of the Union Pacific Railroad, eventually heeded the call of the western resort, though it took him a curiously long time to recognize the budding market around him. In fact, in late 1932 when the Boston and Maine was preparing for its third year of ski train service, Harriman still had little interest in the economic potential of the winter sports passenger even though his company's trains crossed over the Sierra and Wasatch mountain ranges of California and Utah and passed near Oregon's Mt. Hood. Harriman's aversion was not rooted in apathy toward recreation and sports. In fact, the Union Pacific's chairman had been educated at Groton, a private school that modeled itself on English public schools and therefore emphasized regular exercise and sporting competitions. During the 1920s, Harriman even played competitive polo.[104] Despite his predilections for sports, he developed no interest in skiing and evidently did not notice the thriving ski train business in Boston.

Since the Union Pacific's lines stretched over vast distances of the West, Harriman thought more Americans would show up at Union Pacific train depots if they were promised travel on faster, more comfortable trains rather than provided additional space for their sports equipment. Harriman's ideas about the Union Pacific's passenger service had been influenced by a lonely ride aboard the U.P.'s *Los Angeles Limited* in 1932.[105] The near empty train was clear evidence to Harriman that the Stock Market crash as well as competition from automobiles and long-distance buses was squeezing the life right out of his train cars.[106] Harriman's experience was born out by passenger service numbers, which were only half of what they had been before the Crash.[107] The hours of solitude that Harriman endured as he crossed the West convinced him that the Union Pacific should vet the unprofitable passenger service. Unfortunately for Harriman, the United States Interstate Commerce Commission required that the Union Pacific provide passenger service for those people who had no access to cars or buses.[108] Forced to provide public transportation, Harriman opted to lure riders back into the passenger cars by investing in a newer, faster train, one so fast that it would eliminate a whole day of travel between Chicago and the West Coast.[109] In addition to building these locomotives, Harriman conducted a survey of needed improvements on older trains and set about addressing these problems.[110] Harriman's bold investment paid dividends in 1935 when the Union Pacific saw a 21.4 percent increase in

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[104] Rudy Abramson, *Spanning the Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. 1992), 65-66, 72-3, 166-7.

[105] Harriman as well as Gray, Jeffers, and traffic vice-president Frank Robinson rode aboard a private car attached to the *Los Angeles Limited*. Harriman did tour the remainder of the train, which he found almost deserted. Maury Klein, *Union Pacfic: The Rebirth, 1894-1969*, vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1989), 293.

[106] For information about the rise of the long-distance bus industry, see Margaret Walsh, *Making Connections: The Long-Distance Bus Industry in the U.S.A.* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000).

[107] Abramson, *Spanning the Century*, 212.

[108] Maury Klein, *Union Pacific: The Rebirth, 1894-1969*, vol. 2 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006), 293-94.

[109] Klein, *Union Pacific*, vol. 2 (1989), 299.

[110] Abramson, *Spanning the Century*, 219-20.

passenger traffic, which was followed by a 34.7 percent increase the following year.[111] In all, Harriman would eventually invest nearly $50 million in passenger trains even though passenger service generated only 10 percent of the Union Pacific's income.[112]

It was with this mindset of elevating the quality of train service in the United States that Harriman came upon the idea of promoting new ski centers in the West. Though residing in ski-crazed New York City at the time, Harriman claimed his inspiration for a resort resulted from a winter banking trip to Germany, where he found that many of his associates there were so enthusiastic about skiing that they scheduled winter vacations to the Alps rather than to the Riviera.[113] This experience planted a new idea in Harriman's mind, and in fall 1935 he wrote Union Pacific President Carl Gray to suggest that the U.P. investigate the state of winter sports in the West to see if there was a viable industry for which the Union Pacific could provide transportation. To convince Gray of his idea, Harriman noted the popularity of skiing in the East and in cities like Chicago, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and Seattle, areas all serviced by the U.P.[114] Harriman further noted that poor skiing conditions in the East were such that people were already traveling to Europe to ski.[115] It was inevitable, reasoned Harriman, that the U.S. would see the emergence of a ski center on par with those in Switzerland and Austria. Although it may be years before such a world-class center developed, Harriman hoped to hitch the Union Pacific's image to the sexy, new sport and thus buoy the railroad's passenger service during a slumping economy.[116]

To investigate the West's winter sports possibilities, Harriman suggested that the Union Pacific invite a "young Austrian" to evaluate the skiing potential of the Union Pacific's territory. A European skier, argued Harriman, could provide an accurate assessment of whether there was a viable ski industry in America.[117] The European Harriman had in mind was Felix Schaffgotsch, an Austrian count whose family had rented Harriman a hunting cottage during a trip to Austria. Schaffgotsch had also clerked for Harriman's banking firm, Brown Brothers Harriman.[118] Although Harriman omitted any reference to Schaffgotsch's skiing credentials, he was probably aware that Schaffgotsch's brother, Friedrich, had taught skiing at St. Anton under Hannes Schneider, the famous developer of the Arlberg downhill technique.[119]

The Union Pacific President embraced Harriman's ideas and, before Schaffgotsch arrived, dispatched Union Pacific agents to investigate potential winter recreation locations along the Union Pacific's lines. The agents' reported that Yellowstone National Park seemed most appropriate for winter recreation. Harriman, however, found this suggestion unpalatable because

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[111] Abramson, *Spanning the Century*, 221.
[112] Abramson, *Spanning the Century*, 213.
[113] W. Averell Harriman, foreword to Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley,* [7]. For reference to the Riviera, see "Vacations in Winter," *Fortune*, January 1939, 84.
[114] W. Averell Harriman to Carl R. Gray, 2 October 1935, Ms. 371, The Community Library, Ketchum, Idaho.
[115] W. Averell Harriman to Carl R. Gray, 2 October 1935, The Community Library.
[116] W. Averell Harriman to Carl R. Gray, 2 October 1935, Ms. 371, The Community Library and W. Averell Harriman, foreword to *Sun Valley*, by Oppenheimer, [7]
[117] W. Averell Harriman to Carl R. Gray, 2 October 1935, The Community Library.
[118] Abramson, *Spanning the Century*, 222.
[119] Lang, *Bird of Passage*, 130.

Yellowstone was already a summer tourist draw for the Union Pacific; he wanted something entirely new.[120]

Harriman's quest for *terra incognita* began in late November 1935 when Count Schaffgotsch arrived in the United States. Schaffgotsch's mission was to evaluate the potential ski development in the West and locate an area that might be developed as a ski center. Considering Schaffgotsch's Austrian background, this second goal translated into finding the American equivalent of a Tyrolean village, a place that had abundant sunshine, treeless hillsides, bountiful ski terrain, and a good location for a hotel where skiers and their instructors could mingle. Most importantly, the American Tyrol had to be within easy reach of the Union Pacific tracks. According to Harriman, Schaffgotsch was to concentrate on areas around Lake Tahoe and Los Angeles as well as explore the Wasatch and Uinta Mountains east of Salt Lake City.

Despite his itinerary, Schaffgotsch requested that his trip begin outside the Union Pacific's territory at Mt. Rainier, an enormous volcanic peak southeast of Seattle, Washington. Schaffgotsch was under the impression that the active volcano offered the best skiing in the United States.[121] Schaffgotsch's interest in Rainier may have stemmed from the prominent treatment the mountain had already received in *Der Winter*, the official magazine of both the Austrian and German Ski Associations. In 1929, the magazine had published a four-page article on Rainier that characterized the mountain as a playground for Seattle's mountaineers and competitive skiers. The article featured a picture of the mountain's sprawling, treeless hillsides and noted that the peak stood 14,408 feet tall and was adorned with 28 glaciers.[122] Six years later, *Der Winter* offered another article about ski developments in North America that claimed that Mt Rainier was the best known ski area.[123] As a tourist, Schaffgotsch naturally wanted to verify if alpine landscapes did, indeed, exist outside Europe. What he found was not disappointing from a skier's point of view. Although Rainier suffered from high winds, the snow was still good. The mountain's accommodations, too, were promising as they were not only perfectly situated for sun exposure, but they also faced the mountain's beginner slopes. The main drawback, according to Schaffgotsch, was that the mountain had limited ski touring options.[124] Schaffgotsch did not elaborate, but he likely felt that the lone volcanic peak did not offer skiers the opportunity to travel for miles through numerous alpine valleys. Despite this drawback, it appeared to Schaffgotsch that America could offer competition to Europe's acclaimed ski terrain.

From Mount Rainier, Schaffgotsch added his name to a long list of western explorers as he traveled north to Mount Baker before heading to ski centers in Oregon, California, and Utah.

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[120] Holland, *Sun Valley*, 161.

[121] W. Averell Harriman to Carl R. Gray, 27 November 1935, "Union Pacific R.R. Misc.," Box 742, W. Averell Harriman Papers. For reference to Mt. Rainier as an active volcano, see "Mount Rainier: Learning to Live with Volcanic Risk," U.S. Geological Survey Fact Sheet 034-02, http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/2002/fs034-02/, accessed April 8, 2008.

[122] H. O. Giese, "Auf den Berg Gottes," *Der Winter* 23, no. 1 (October 1929), 6-9. For more about the development of recreation on Mt. Rainier, see Theodore Catton, *National Park, City Playground: Mount Rainier in the Twentieth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006).

[123] G. von Lilienfeld, "Ski Entwicklung und Skigebiete Nordamerikas," *Der Winter* 30, no. 10 (1936/37), 158.

[124] [Ski Resort Survey, Felix Schaffgotsch, ca. 1936], "Morgan, J. E. P.," Box 739, WAH; E. A. Klippel Jr. to C. J. Collins, 14 December 1935, MS. 369, Community Library.

Schaffgotsch's assessments of these areas were clearly meant to inform the Union Pacific of the skiing potential in the West. Most of his comments, therefore, focused on transportation and accommodations as well as the quality and quantity of both snow and skiable slopes. According to Schaffgotsch, Mt. Baker and Yosemite offered good snow but were only reachable by long car drives. Other areas such as those around Lake Tahoe and Salt Lake City had fair to bad snow as well as slopes that Schaffgotsch determined were too short, even though they offered descents of 2,000 feet.[125] Many European resorts, on the other hand, offered much longer descents of between 3,000 and 4,000 feet. Snow quality and the ski trail length were not the only troublesome aspects of western skiing. Schaffgotsch complained that centers like Mt. Hood, Oregon; Brighton, Utah; and West Portal, Colorado, were "full with the Sunday crowd" due to their proximity to urban areas.[126] These skiers would not need to rely on the Union Pacific to get them to their destination. Schaffgotsch found the isolated peaks of the Uinta Mountains in northeastern Utah more promising for the Union Pacific. Roughly forty miles east of Salt Lake City, this rare east-west range offered three peaks between 11,000 and 13,000 feet, which Schaffgotsch found appealing.[127] After the disappointment of Washington, Oregon, and California, Utah's soaring mountains gave Schaffgotsch hope that the U.S. might yet have suitable alpine terrain and he promised Harriman that he would find "a perfect spot, which will compare very favourably to all the resorts we have in Switzerland and Austria."[128]

Although somewhat furtive on the Union Pacific's part, Schaffgotsch's travel was well publicized in local newspapers. Portland's *Oregonian* depicted Schaffgotsch as a spoiled aristocrat from Altmünster, Austria, who came to America simply to "fiddle around" because he had four months of leisure time. The paper emphasized Schaffgotsch's wealth by noting that his family already had large land holdings in the Riesengebirge Mountains of Silesia. The article's author, though, did not comment on the fact that A.S. Edmonds of the Union Pacific accompanied Schaffgotsch on his tour of Mount Hood.[129] News of Schaffgotsch's visit became news all over the country as a short story and picture circulated on the news circuits. Newspapers in Peoria, Illinois; Baton Rouge, Louisiana; and Stockton, California, all published a picture of Schaffgotsch and a small paragraph about the "Skiman's Holiday," which noted that the Austrian "got a little too much skiing in his native land and decided to come to the United States."[130] Even the Union Pacific's own company newsletter depicted Schaffgotsch as a bored European noble who was touring the West just for fun. The bulletin, though, did not mention that Schaffgotsch was working for the U.P.[131] It was clear that Schaffgotsch's visit was intended to stir up publicity for western ski areas even before the Union Pacific settled on where to build its intended resort.

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125 [Felix Schaffgotsch, Ski Resort Survey, ca. 1936], Box 739, WAH.
126 [Felix Schaffgotsch, Ski Resort Survey, ca. 1936], Box 739, WAH.
127 Felix Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, 1 January 1936, "Schaffgotsch, Felix," Box 740, WAH.
128 Felix Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, 1 January 1936, "Schaffgotsch, Felix," Box 740, WAH.
129 "Austrian Count Admires Hood," *Oregonian*, December 12, 1935.
130 Quote is from "Skiman's Holiday," *Stockton (CA) Independent*, January 4, 1935. Almost identical articles appear in the *Baton Rouge (LA) Advocate*, December 19, 1935; the *Beaver (PA) Daily Times*, December 18, 1935; and the *Peoria (IL) Transcript*, December 20, 1935.
131 "Western Sportlands Thrill Austrian Count," *Union Pacific Bulletin*, no. 268 (January 1936), 2.

In mid-January 1936, Schaffgotsch discovered his American Tyrol in a mountain valley east of Victor, Idaho. Located on the western slope of the Grand Teton Mountains, this particular valley offered a wide basin at 6,400 feet that was ringed by immense 10,000- and 11,000-foot peaks. The area offered long vertical descents of between 3,500 and 4,500 feet. Schaffgotsch gushed that the valley offered the best snow conditions he had ever seen and that locals had assured him that powder snow remained in the area for three months each year. More importantly, the Austrian noble found the area had a charming atmosphere in which children rode horses to school and the postmen delivered mail by horse-drawn sleigh. Schaffgotsch was so excited by the small mountain town that he doubted that he would "see anything better than Victor, where perfect ski mountains, snow conditions, climate, and atmosphere [were] combined."[132] For reasons that are unclear, though, railroad officials never seriously considered Victor as a potential ski center. One can only imagine that transportation issues were the primary problem. Whereas the town of Victor was in Idaho, the excellent ski terrain was just across the border in Wyoming along a road that the State of Wyoming refused to plow in the winter.[133]

With Victor dismissed, Schaffgotsch was once again had no candidate for his suitable ski mountain. A few days after his departure from Victor, though, a monstrous winter storm swept over the southern half of Idaho, draping a glistening blanket of snow over it.[134] Particularly hard hit by the storm was a stretch of U.S. Highway 93 between the Idaho towns of Shoshone and Ketchum, which saw nearly two feet of snow.[135] Though the Union Pacific had a branch line that ran parallel to Highway 93, no one had thought of giving Schaffgotsch a tour of the Wood River Valley, not even Bill Hynes, the Union Pacific's traveling freight agent who had guided Schaffgotsch through the mountains of Idaho and Wyoming.[136] Hynes, in fact, learned of the area's winter potential only after a chance encounter with Joe Stemmer, the Idaho director of highways, whose road crews were being hailed in local papers for keeping Highway 93 passable to Ketchum.[137] After listening to Hynes' complaints about his fruitless search for a ski center, Stemmer asked Hynes if he had shown the Count the town of Ketchum. Hynes admitted that the old mining town had not occurred to him as a potential ski center. Stemmer suggested that Hynes consider it since the Union Pacific had a branch line that terminated there.[138]

The mammoth storm's timing and Hynes' fortuitous meeting with Stemmer rescued a desperate Schaffgotsch, who, after evaluating the best ski areas the West had to offer, had yet to anoint one as "the place." Ketchum would not disappoint him. Riding in a bus preceded by a plow, the count arrived in Ketchum to find it as covered in snow as it was empty of people.[139] Fortunately for the count, the town was not completely deserted. Schaffgotsch and his

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[132] Felix Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, 12 January 1936, "Schaffgotsch, Felix," Box 740, WAH.

[133] Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley*, 23-24.

[134] Schaffgotsch's letter to Harriman, January 12, 1936, Box 740, WAH mentions that he had recently visited Victor. The massive storm began January 13. "Snow Storms Please Farmers; Keep Highway Crews on Jump," *Idaho Statesman*, January 15, 1936.

[135] "Hailey Highway Kept Open by Snowplow," *Idaho Statesman*, January 17, 1936.

[136] Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 13-14.

[137] "Snow Storms Please Farmers," *Idaho Statesman*, January 15, 1936; "Hailey Highway Kept Open by Snowplow," *Idaho Statesman*, January 17, 1936.

[138] Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 14.

[139] Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley*, 26.

companions arrived during the two-hour window when Griffith Brothers, a local store, was open.[140] With few people to whom to turn, Hynes asked the man behind the counter if there were any boys who could ski and would be willing to conduct a tour of area for the count, whom Hynes introduced as a representative of Union Pacific chairman Averell Harriman.[141]

News of Schaffgotsch's unannounced visit and unusual request spread quickly among Ketchum residents and raised some suspicion. One of the more powerful merchants in town, Jack Lane, who was wintering seventy-five miles south in Jerome, Idaho, counseled the few souls left in Ketchum to not cash any of the Schaffgotsch's checks unless the Union Pacific guaranteed them.[142] Lane's warning did not affect the securing of a local guide, however, as a young boy soon showed up with antiquated skis which Schaffgotsch replaced with his own pair of skis, boots, and poles.[143]

During the succeeding days, Schaffgotsch found himself increasingly overwhelmed by the undulating peaks over which he toured. With nearly two feet of fresh powder on the ground, Schaffgotsch telegrammed Harriman the following ebullient message: "Place perfect, any number excursions, ideal snow and weather conditions."[144] Following further tours with Roberta Brass, the daughter of a local sheep rancher, Schaffgotsch wrote Harriman again, exclaiming: "It's the ski heaven. When are you coming out?"[145]

Harriman answered Schaffgotsch's query by arriving in Ketchum in early February aboard his own railroad car. Accompanying him were his wife, Marie, his older daughter Mary, and William S. Paley, the chairman of the board for the Columbia Broadcasting System, who also brought his wife. Aside from keeping him company in the desolate environment, Harriman's guests were intended to provide him with an idea of the valley's appeal.[146] Aboard a covered sleigh equipped with a potbelly stove, the group set about touring Ketchum's environs.[147] Despite the visibility of his sleigh ride, Harriman's visit garnered no attention in local newspapers.[148]

While Harriman investigated the Wood River Valley, Schaffgotsch headed to the East Coast, where he lauded Ketchum as a skier's paradise. Two of the East Coast's more notable skiers, Otto Schniebs and Charles Proctor, a former U.S. Olympic skier and Dartmouth Outing Club member, reacted enthusiastically to Schaffgotsch's pictures and claims. Proctor even promised to come West to see Ketchum himself.[149]

With interest in Ketchum increasing, Schaffgotsch returned to Idaho in late March to officially announce his intentions to develop a hotel in the Ketchum area. Hounded by curious

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[140] Ibid., 27.
[141] Ibid., 27.
[142] Ibid., 27.
[143] Ibid., 28.
[144] Ibid., 28; Felix Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, telegram, 18 January 1936, "Box 740, WAH; and *Idaho Statesman*, January 17, 1936.
[145] Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley*, 50. For quote, see Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, telegram, 21 January 1936, WAH.
[146] Holland, *Sun Valley*, 182.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Neither the *Hailey Times* nor the *Idaho Statesman* mentioned Harriman's visit to Ketchum.
[149] Felix Schaffgotsch to W. Averell Harriman, 19 February 1936, "Schaffgotsch, Felix," Box 740, WAH.

newspapermen, Schaffgotsch explained that he and ten others had purchased an 8,500-acre ranch from Ernest F. Brass to found a resort on par with those in Schaffgotsch's native Austria. Schaffgotsch noted that the hotel would be an experiment that would be built in such a way as to facilitate later additions.[150] Although Schaffgotsch was careful not to mention the Union Pacific, a small article in the *Hailey Times* noted that Union Pacific officials had returned to Ketchum with Schaffgotsch to endorse his decision. The article, however, emphasized that the U.P. was not financially interested in the resort.[151] The Brass family might have suggested otherwise, for the option agreement on their ranch listed the Union Land Company as the purchaser.[152] To celebrate the announcement, locals staged a banquet to honor Schaffgotsch and others. As entertainment, townspeople performed songs and skits. Schaffgotsch joined in the merriment by praising Ketchum in a speech.[153]

Market Research and the Ski Industry

The Idaho locals who toasted Schaffgotsch and his associates in late March 1936 probably had no idea what a European-style ski center looked like. In many ways, neither did the Union Pacific. What knowledge the railroad did have about skiing in Europe derived from accounts by Schaffgotsch and Charles Proctor, among others. Averell Harriman, himself, had no personal knowledge of European resorts and relied on information supplied by friends like John Morgan.[154] In fact, in a 17-page report describing transportation and lodging at ski centers in Canada, Europe, and the East Coast, the Union Pacific dedicated a little over a page to St. Moritz, Switzerland, and a half-page to the whole of the Austrian Alps. These brief entries included no particulars about the specific resorts and were primarily concerned with the railroad journeys of British tourists who traveled to the various resorts.[155] The lack of interest in the actual design of European ski centers made sense. After all, the Union Pacific knew how to develop tourist centers. It had already developed large hotels at Yellowstone, Zion, and the Grand Canyon. The U.P.'s interest in British tourists, on the other hand, reflected the railroad's concerns about getting people to travel long distances via rail to Sun Valley. Traveling from London to the Alps would most closely approximate the long journeys that most Americans would have to make to Ketchum, Idaho. Who these skiers were, though, was a mystery. Skiing was a relatively new sport and there was little information about its practitioners.

To provide himself with more insight about whom he could expect to visit Ketchum, Harriman arranged for an analysis of American skiing. The information that the Union Pacific compiled on U.S. ski centers showed that skiing was most popular in the Northwest and Northeast. Skiing trends on the East Coast were particularly encouraging for the Union Pacific as research showed that ski trains by early 1936 operated not only out of Boston but also out of Baltimore, Washington, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, and New York. Some operations were quite small, such as that of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which began in late February 1936

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150 Beesley, Walter. "Austrian Count to Build Winter Resort in Idaho," *The Idaho Statesman* 22 March 1936.

151 "Ketchum Hills Selected for Ideal Winter Playground Site," *Hailey Times*, 26 March 1936.

152 Option Agreement, 3 March 1936, "Purchase of Property," Box 739, WAH.

153 "Ketchum Folk Honor Guests at Reception," *Hailey Times*, 26 March 1936.

154 Averell Harriman, oral history, no interviewer, [1980s?], recorded in Washington, D.C. New England Ski Museum, Franconia, New Hampshire.

155 [Snow Train Report, ca. February 1936], "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.

to run trains to Glencoe, Maryland, where local farmers prepared the area for winter sports and offered the only accommodations in town—rooms in their own homes. The Union Pacific paid particular attention to rail service provided by the Boston and Maine Railroad, which the report noted, was much more sophisticated in its development of winter sports. The Boston and Maine Railroad not only produced a pamphlet that outlined its ski train service but it also benefited from the cooperation of local media, which regularly broadcast up-to-date information on snow trains, snow conditions, and winter activities in addition to publishing trail maps. Boston tourist companies and ski clubs even arranged for whole weekend excursions, which included railroad fares, meals, sightseeing, and accommodations.[156] For Union Pacific representatives, the eastern ski industry forecast promising results for the U.P. not only because railroads played a prominent part of the winter sports industry but also because the industry seemed quite large.

The status of downhill skiing in the flat Midwest, on the other hand, was dismal. With large populations of Scandinavians, the snowbound states of Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Illinois had been among the earliest areas to develop interest in cross-country skiing and ski jumping. In fact, ski jumping competitions were so popular that railroads offered special rates for travel to the events. Hotels and restaurants also added incentives to lure spectators and thus tourist dollars to their towns.[157] The Norwegian influence and the geography in the Midwest necessarily meant that downhill skiing attracted few practitioners and thus only a handful of snow trains. According to the report, skiing interest was highest in Chicago, which supplied the majority of snow train passengers who traveled to various ski jumping competitions. In January 1935, an amateur ski meet at Chicago's Soldier Field netted 31,500 spectators while a similar event at Cary, Illinois, thirty-nine miles northwest of Chicago, drew 7,000 people.[158]

The Union Pacific was less systematic in its gathering of information about western skiers as it had already collected significant data from Schaffgotsch. The U.P. supplemented Schaffgotsch's information with data gathered by its passenger agents as well as information supplied by the California Chamber of Commerce. This data revealed that western skiers often relied on their own cars rather than trains to deliver them to their chosen hills. The dependence on the automobile was one born out of necessity rather than choice. Trains did not service the most popular resorts like Yosemite, Mt. Rainier, and Mt. Hood. Details obtained from local boosters also showed that the West Coast was far less developed with regard to ski facilities, but that numerous organizations and clubs were involved in promoting the sport. Although California had a long history of skiing, dating back to the days of the Gold Rush, downhill skiing had yet to grip the Golden State as it had the East Coast.[159] Boosterism, not grassroots interest in the sport, defined the California ski industry. This behavior was best exemplified by the California State Chamber of Commerce Winter Sports Committee, which included sub-committees such as Newspaper Publicity, Department Store Cooperation, Photo Finishers Cooperation, Radio Publicity, Oil Company Cooperation, Billboards, and Highways. To promote skiing interest, the committee, with funding from Southern Pacific Railroad, created a film about California skiing, which it distributed to schools. As a supplement to the film, the Committee also circulated a brochure about California skiing to fraternal organizations, sports

[156] [Snow Train Report, ca. February 1936], "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.
[157] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 59.
[158] Winter Sports Activities Report, [ca. February 1936], "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.
[159] Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing*, 13-28.

clubs, and country clubs. Aware of the key role Dartmouth college students played in popularizing skiing, the Committee promoted skiing at California universities with the hope of creating ski clubs. As for ski areas, the committee put pressure on the National Forest Service, the National Park Service, and the State Park Service to provide ski areas and trails. Despite all this activity, California still boasted only one ski area—Badger Pass in Yosemite National Park. The committee was optimistic about this small resort and wrote that Badger Pass could conceivably compete with European ski destinations.[160] Yosemite, after all, had tens of thousands of winter visitors. For both the winters of 1934-35 and 1935-36, Yosemite documented 35,000 visitors, all of who arrived by car, save for 225 who traveled part of the distance by train.[161] Although the Southern Pacific Railroad was involved in promoting skiing, it was clear that the nascent California ski industry would be united by cars rather than by trains.

The automobile's importance for winter transportation even prevailed north of California, where ski areas were closer to major cities. From contacts in Washington, Harriman learned that ski clubs were the organizing force behind skiing developments. In fact, the Cascade Mountains supported four ski areas, of which three were serviceable only by car. A fourth area, Stampede, was serviced by the North Pacific Railway, which outfitted its trains with a kitchen car as well as bunk accommodations for seventy people. Stampede, though, was near Snoqualmie Pass, an area that was only 57 miles from Seattle and proved popular for people hoping to ski the Seattle Municipal Course. Snoqualmie also offered accommodations for nearly 500 people in private and club cabins. Other popular areas included Mount Rainier National Park's Paradise Valley, which was 100 miles from Seattle and accommodated up to 1,150 people. One hundred and fifty miles north of Seattle lay Mount Baker, where skiers could find a moderately sized lodge that slept 300. Seattle benefited also from the involvement of local press, which published data on snow depth and weather at the various ski areas. The Northwest even had its own winter sports magazine called *Ski*. Although the sport was clearly thriving, it received little aid from the railroads and was dominated by weekend enthusiasts rather than any sort of leisure class.[162]

The Union Pacific passenger agents also supplied information about the emerging resort at Aspen, Colorado, where a group had built the Highland Bavarian Lodge. The group anticipated the construction of additional lodges and even a funicular in the near future. Like Sun Valley, the Highland Bavarian Lodge benefited from the consultation of Swiss skier Andre Roch.[163]

American Advertising and the Vision for Sun Valley

From the information the Union Pacific gathered, it was evident that there was a lot of competition in the skiing market. The railroad faced the question of how it would convince people to come all the way to Ketchum rather than patronize their local resorts and sports centers. Railroad officials quickly realized that the struggling sheep-ranching town needed an

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[160] California State Chamber of Commerce, "Annual Report of Winter Sports Committee," 1934-1935 Season, "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.
[161] Winter Sports Activities Report, [ca. February 1936], "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.
[162] H. M. West to A. S. Edmonds, 27 February 1936, "Early Studies and Prospects," Box 737, WAH.
[163] R.K. Tompkins to W.H. Guild, December 24, 1935, TL, Box 737, WAH.

enticing image, an eye-popping advertisement that would lure eastern urbanites and West Coast socialites to the middle of Idaho.

In charge of creating this image was Steve Hannagan, an advertising mogul who had manufactured Miami Beach's image. Originally a reporter for the *Indianapolis Star*, Hannagan had been hired in 1920 by Indianapolis businessman Carl Fisher to promote the Indianapolis Speedway and its marquee event, the Indianapolis 500.[164] In 1924, Hannagan followed Carl Fisher to Miami Beach, Florida, where Hannagan assumed control of marketing the former sand-spit-turned-real-estate-bonanza.[165] Over the next ten years, Hannagan associated the image of Miami Beach with "girlies," young women in bathing suits, by providing free photos of the women to the news services.[166] By the mid-1930s, Miami Beach was paying Hannagan $25,000 a winter to promote the city. With the help of eleven former newspapermen working under him as part of the Miami Beach News Service, Hannagan achieved a fair degree of personal celebrity. Features in both *Life* and *Scribner's Magazine* as well as prominent mention in *Fortune* depicted Hannagan as the press agent *nonpareil*.[167]

Hannagan arrived in Ketchum in late March, just two days after the festive Ketchum banquet, and, like Harriman, toured Ketchum on a heated sled. A non-skier, Hannagan's impressions were remarkably different from those of Schaffgotsch. Whereas skiers such as Charles Proctor saw bounteous skiing opportunities, Hannagan, the advertiser, wrote the following candid statement to Harriman: "Frankly, I was disappointed in my first impression. But it is a location that grows on one."[168] In a later interview in *Scribner's*, Hannagan admitted he had found Ketchum a difficult place to appreciate and had wondered why "any living thing except a St. Bernard on a rescue expedition should ever want to go [t]."[169] Although a challenging place to advertise, Hannagan agreed with Schaffgotsch and Proctor that Ketchum had an ideal climate with captivating geography. In fact, Hannagan admitted, "When it came to leave, I wanted to remain longer." Aside from the area's scenery, Ketchum also proved an ideal location because of its isolation, which ensured that only a certain type of person would have access to the up-scale resort.[170] Tourists and travelers, not day trippers, would be the primarily clientele.

By the end of his visit, the Miami adman embraced the idea of the resort and settled on the name Sun Valley.[171] For someone who had made his name by providing pictures of scantily

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[164] Polly Redford, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach* (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1970), 183.
[165] "Paradise Regained," *Fortune*, January 1936, in *Reader's Digest*, March 1936, 10.
[166] Redford, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar*, 183.
[167] "Steve Hannagan's Girls," *Life*, November 30, 1936; Stanley Jones, "Steve Hannagan," *Scribner's Magazine*, May 1938, 9-13, 81, 106-107; "Paradise Regained," 10.
[168] Steve Hannagan to Averell Harriman, 28 March 1936, Reopening, 739.
[169] Jones, "Steve Hannagan," 81.
[170] Steve Hannagan to W. Averell Harriman, 28 March 1936, "Reopening," Box 739, WAH.
[171] The actual naming process is somewhat murky. I have not located a specific document in which the Union Pacific agreed on the name. In Hannagan's initial prospectus, he initially begins his assessment by talking about "Ketchum" and "this project" and only calls the resort Sun Vallley at the end of the second page. Stephen Hannagan to Harriman, March 28, 1936, attachment to Hannagan to Harriman, April 2, 1946, Box 739, WAH. For information about other names, see Holland, *Sun Valley*, 190.

clad women to newspapers in snowbound, northern cities, Hannagan's vision for the new ski resort was predictable. Hannagan proposed selling it with "unusual pictures showing the unusual climate of Idaho which suggests sun bathing in three cornered uncovered ice houses, skiing in shirts skinned to the waist, bathing in natural hot water pools in the open, scenes of snow adventurers with picturesque sheep herders and their unusual rolling homes encountered on a cross country trip, with dog teams, [and skiers sitting] on the mechanical hoists—doing all the unusual things it will be possible to do in Sun Valley and nowhere else in this country."[172]

Hannagan brought a much grander vision to the development of Sun Valley than what the Union Pacific had even envisioned. Rather than building a small lodge as Schaffgotsch had suggested to reporters, and as Harriman had originally intended, Hannagan argued for a "complete unit of entertainment with full facilities for winter sports enjoyment."[173] Hannagan proposed a grandiose hotel "surrounded with effects" such as an ice skating rink and a glass-walled, open-ceiling pool. With snow-capped peaks in the background, and women in bathing suits in the foreground, photos of the new resort were assured to capture the country's attention. Hannagan realized, though, that winter sports would only consume a few hours a day and that "every possible adjunct of entertainment—simple and unusual, however—must be projected and provided for."[174] Nightlife would center on a movie theater, a pool hall, and a bowling alley located in western-themed buildings in Ketchum. Before partaking of the evening activities, guests might take a sleigh ride to a restaurant serving unique and unusual cuisine. "This is one city in which roughing it must be a luxury," commented Hannagan. "It may seem to be isolated, rustic, continental. But it must have every modern convenience."[175] Hannagan envisioned Sun Valley as a combination of distinctive local western culture with a sensational skiing atmosphere grafted on to it.

As for the winter sports enthusiasts, Hannagan recommended that the Union Pacific design some sort of device to transport skiers easily to the top of the ski hills, which would be dotted with convenient coffee and hot chocolate stands. Rather than reserving the snow-covered hills just for skiing, Hannagan suggested that the railroad design a toboggan course. With such amenities provided, Hannagan anticipated that wide-eyed guests might exclaim: "Well, I'll be damned! They've certainly done this place well. There isn't one single thing I could wish for that hasn't been provided. Imagine that!"[176] Such reactions were imperative to Hannagan, who advised Harriman that Sun Valley "has a chance to succeed only if it is an eye opener from scratch."[177] If the resort was half done, then the Union Pacific assured itself of years trying to sell the resort's progress. If completed in an eye-popping manner, then Hannagan felt "Sun Valley will be made nationally known in a season. It is new. It is colorful. It is different. It can be made into news."[178]

Despite his sensational vision for the resort, Hannagan envisioned that Sun Valley would draw "almost the exact opposite of the pleasure mad southern resort visitors," and that instead

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172 Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 31; Hannagan to Harriman, 28 March 1936, Box 739, WAH.
173 Harriman to C. R. Gray, February 15, 1936, telegram, Box 742, WAH; Hannagan to Harriman, 28 March 1936, Box 739, WAH.
174 Hannagan to Harriman, 28 March 1936, "Reopening," WAH.
175 Ibid.
176 Hannagan to Harriman, 28 March 1936, WAH.
177 Ibid.
178 Ibid.

the guests would primarily consist of two types: the athletic winter sports enthusiast and the leisure tourist or spectator. Hotel and railroad rates as well as the resort's distance from population centers would necessarily limit guests to those with money. Even then, though, Hannagan warned that "not all people with money are desirable" and that it would be "necessary to cull all reservations with judgment." After all, Hannagan noted, "We must be careful to set our style and our tempo from the very first." Hannagan ended his letter with the following optimistic vision: "It is my opinion Sun Valley can be made into an exclusive winter sports resort which will capture the interest of all America. And become the trademark of everything that is winter sports just as Florida has become synonymous with a summer vacation in winter."[179]

To promote this image of a sweltering sun in a frozen landscape, Hannagan designed an advertisement that made one feel the heat of summer. His iconic ad depicted a smiling male skier, stripped to the waist and glistening in sweat as he stood atop a mountain overlook. Rather than using an actual photograph of Idaho's Sawtooth Mountains as a backdrop, Hannagan used a few simple brush stokes to suggest a mountain ridgeline. The text at the top of the ad read, "Discovered! Winter Sports under a Summer Sun" and the small print at the bottom reinforced this claim with promises that one could ski on "Timber-free slopes . . . covered with 'powder' snow" and participate in "outdoor bathing in a warm-water pool" and "'ice tanning' in sun-room igloos."[180]

The half-naked skier and references to an outdoor pool were more than an effective way of marketing Sun Valley as a warm place, different from the prevailing cold winter resorts in the East; they were a way of connecting Sun Valley with Hollywood and elite leisure. During the 1920s, the outdoor pool had become a feature of the sprawling southern California estates of movie stars such as Buster Keaton as well as the glamorous couple of Douglas Fairfield and Mary Pickford.[181] By the 1930s the pool was no longer just a leisure space for Hollywood actors; it had also become a stage for wet female bodies in films like *The Kid from Spain*, *Footlight Parade*, and *Gold Diggers of 1933*.[182] Sun Valley's lure of an outdoor pool distinguished the Sun Valley Lodge from western lodges in National Parks and placed it amidst the company of exotic estates in southern California and Florida.

A pool was not all that connected Sun Valley to Hollywood. Hannagan's model also brought to mind visions of tropical paradises. With his smooth, slight musculature, and wide grin, the Sun Valley skier looked like Tarzan as played by former Olympic swimmer Johnny Weissmuller. In 1932's *Tarzan of the Apes*, Weissmuller had captured America's attention with his portrayal of the ape-man. According to one reviewer in the *New York Evening Post,* Tarzan was a nearly perfect man "with his flowing hair, his magnificently proportioned body, his catlike walk, and his virtuosity in the water."[183] With such attributes, Tarzan had no problem both romancing Jane and effortlessly swinging from trees and swimming across rivers. The Sun Valley skier was Tarzan's alpine analogue. His naked torso promised that Sun Valley was a spectacle, a place of both sport and sex where women could rely on handsome, tall male ski

[179] Hannagan to Harriman, 28 March 1936, "Reopening," WAH.
[180] For an example of such as ad, see *Vogue*, November 15, 1936, 32.
[181] Thomas A.P. van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool*, ed. Helen Searing (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1998), 195.
[182] van Leeuwen, *The Springboard in the Pond*, 167.
[183] Mrozek, "Sport in American Life," 38-41.

instructors to help them first avoid the dangers of skiing and then attend to their needs by the pool.[184]

Hannagan arranged for the placement of Sun Valley's sex-infused image in numerous magazines such as the *New Yorker* and *Fortune* as well as highbrow travel magazines like *Asia* and *Travel*. These latter magazines reinforced the exotic connotations of Sun Valley as Hannagan's ad appeared next to stories about the centuries-old towns of coastal Portugal and beside book reviews about the Solomon Islands.[185] Even when there was no image, Hannagan and his associates fed newspapers text that associated Sun Valley with places other than snow-bound ones. In December 1936, the *Chicago Tribune* squeezed a couple of column inches about Sun Valley's grand opening under the title "Bathe Outdoors in the Mountains," an article which appeared next to a story about economical trips to Florida and above an ad for travel to Arizona and California.[186] The *Philadelphia Inquirer* even sandwiched a story about the "skiers' paradise" between an article on New Orleans and another about West Coast visitors. Above the article was a picture of Waikiki Beach, the "American Riviera" as the caption referred to it.[187]

By framing Sun Valley as a warm weather place with snow, Hannagan was doing what he did best—playing up a contrast.[188] Hannagan's desire for emphasizing alpine sunshine, though, was actually a common way of depicting skiing in Europe, though Hannagan seemed unaware of this fact. As early as 1935, Katharine Peckett had pointed out in an article in *Reader's Digest* that skiers and spectators in the Austrian Tyrol regularly stripped down to bathing suits and that "skiers are tanned to an almost chocolate brown."[189] In fact, in December 1936 when Sun Valley officially opened, *Life* magazine produced an eight-page photo spread of skiing in Europe and America that featured one picture of a woman in a bathing suit against a snow-covered hill and another of a young male skier in New Hampshire stripped to the waist. These photos appeared under the subtitle "Skiing can be Hot, Thrilling, Luxurious, Wet."[190] Such photos were sensational and misleading. Skiing was often cold. No more than four months later, the cover of *Life* magazine featured a Sun Valley skier that suggested none of the sex appeal of the earlier ads. Rather than proudly showing of his bare chest, this skier was covered head to toe in warm clothing. In fact, the skier's hood was pulled so tightly around his or her face, that it was impossible to tell the skier's sex.[191]

By associating itself with Hollywood and Europe, Sun Valley clearly distinguished itself from other ski regions and the burgeoning ski industry in general. The prevailing marketing tactics of ski clubs, mountain hotels, and sporting good suppliers were usually text-heavy and focused on the numbers, names, and lengths of ski trails. Some advertisements featured simple sketches of male skiers with their arms thrust forward and their knees bent. This was the position of the Arlberg crouch, the famous Austrian downhill skiing technique associated with speed as

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[184] Van Leeuwen discusses the implication of sex at the waters edge in *The Springboard in the Pond*, 170, 172.
[185] *Travel*, December 1936 and *Asia*, December 1936.
[186] *Chicago Tribune*, 13 December 1936.
[187] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 13 December 1936.
[188] For a description of Hannagan's advertising technique, see Jones, "Steve Hannagan," 12.
[189] Katharine Peckett, "The Well-Undressed Skier," *Reader's Digest*, January 1936, 24.
[190] *Life*, 7 December 1936, 52-53. Similar sunny picture appeared in "Ski Ways of Zuers," *Harper's Bazaar*, December 1936.
[191] Cover photograph, *Life*, March 8, 1937.

well as the explosion of skiing's popularity in Europe. Sun Valley's promotional literature suggested none of the daring speeds achievable on skis. In fact, the resort's ads had more in common with the ski advertisements featuring stylish women, who were usually featured posing on, or with, their skis.[192] Consuming leisure, not recreation, was the resort's clear objective.

Skiing and the Department Store

In many ways, Sun Valley appeared to emulate a high-end department store more than a mountain lodge. Sun Valley sold leisure and style as much as it peddled the actual recreation of skiing. Manhattan department stores had recognized this new type of winter consumer in 1935 when they began advertising ski clothing and offering ski classes. B. Altman and Co. was one of the first stores to link skiing with consumerism when it hired Katharine Peckett as a consultant and buyer for winter ski clothing. On a trip to Europe, Peckett did more than acquire ski clothing; she also hired Otto Lang, an instructor at Hannes Schneider's Arlberg Ski School. Peckett promised Lang that he would serve as the ski instructor for her parents' resort after working for about a week at B. Altman and Co. in the fall. Lang had no idea that he had been hired to perform on an indoor ski slide at B. Altman. In fact, Lang had made one request to Peckett when accepting the job—that that he not be required to ski on an indoor slide. Lang considered such slides a corruption of skiing, what he called the "purest of sports."[193] Once Lang arrived, however, he learned that his job, indeed, would be what he dreaded. The gradual, short slide coupled with Lang's long skis proved too small for him to perform the Arlberg's famous stem-Christiana turn, so Lang used a Hannes Schneider ski film to demonstrate it instead.[194]

Department stores throughout New York City soon copied B. Altman. Sak's Fifth Avenue was not to be outdone by its rival and opened its own slide following the suggestion of John Potter who had seen an indoor ski hill while in Berlin. According to Potter, instead of using crystal sodium hypersulphate as did B. Altman, German ski hill designers would spray borax over a stiff carpet to replicate a beginner's ski hill. Based on Potter's descriptions, Sak's built a 63-foot long, 16-foot wide slide that provided a vertical drop of ten feet. To demonstrate skiing on the slide to the "women of wealthy suburbia," the upscale department store also hired an Austrian ski instructor named Sig Buchmayr, who had been employed by Pecketts the previous winter.[195] Like Lang, Buchmayr entertained shoppers and passersby by performing tricks and teaching others how not to fall while sliding down the too-gradual slope.[196] The following winter, a host of department stores copied Sak and B. Altman. A woman browsing *Harper's Bazaar*'s November 1936 issue would see that A. G. Spaulding and Co., Wanamaker's, and Macy's all offered indoor skiing opportunities in New York City.[197]

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[192] For ski advertisements, see the *American Ski Annual*, as well as classified ads in *New York Times*. Annie Coleman makes a similar argument about women being passive in ski advertisements in *Ski Style*, 62.
[193] Otto Lang, *A Bird of Passage* (Helena, Montana: Falcon Press, 1994), 80-1, quote on 81; "America is Putting on Skis," advertisement, *New York Times*, November 25, 1935.
[194] *New York Times*, December 11, 1935; Lang, *Bird of Passage*, 95-97.
[195] "Sak's is Very Fifth Avenue," *Fortune*, November 1938, 57; Paul Gallico, "The Ski's the Limit," *Reader's Digest*, January 1936, 21; and Lang, *Bird of Passage*, 100.
[196] Gallico, "Ski's the Limit," 21.
[197] Hotel and Travel, *Harper's Bazaar*, November 1936, 191.

Indoor ski slides not only encouraged the association of skiing with flirtation between male instructors and their female pupils, but they also whetted the appetite of skiers who desired predictable skiing. The *Ski Bulletin* noted that ski slides were actually good places for early season practice before outdoor practice hills had snow. In fact, the skiing actually simulated conditions that one would experience on "well-packed spring snow."[198]

Like the department stores, Sun Valley offered guests leisurely skiing, shopping, and interaction with fit, male instructors. In fact, Sun Valley actually partnered with Saks Fifth Avenue to open a ski shop in the Sun Valley Lodge. Saks had previous experience with skiing and the railroads. In fact, it had supplied ski equipment on the New York Central's ski train.[199] In a 1936 advertisement that depicted two women, one skiing and other relaxing against a mantelpiece, Saks elaborated on its contributions to skiing, listing its snow boat cruise to St. Moritz, its indoor ski slide, its ski shop, its winter travel bureau, and its New York Central Railroad equipment car, which provided skiers with equipment to buy or rent. This advertisement also listed Saks Fifth Avenue's ski shop at Sun Valley, which, the ad boasted, was located in "the most famous ski country in the West."[200] A subsequent ad run the day before Sun Valley's scheduled opening on December 21 advertised exclusively the Saks Fifth Avenue Ski Shop and Ski Room. The advertisement ensured readers that they would be able to buy all sorts of ski equipment and accessories as well as cosmetics and bathing suits for use in the pools.[201]

The involvement of department stores in skiing fostered the creation of the new fashionable leisure skier, who became the winter compliment to the summer golfer, swimmer, and tennis player. On ski hills, one noticed these skiers by the combination of both their poor technique and bright clothing. The *American Ski Annual* noted that the division between the experienced and novice skier was "just as garish and absolute as the ring around the inside of a bathtub [or] of the line of gashes cut by steel-edged skis against the bark of the pines on the downhill side of the old Tuckerman Fire Trail."[202] Although veteran skiers flinched at the sight of these "novice 'slar-lummers' and pretty clothes horses," popular magazines and advertisers embraced the new consumer, helping associate skiing with upper class pursuits.[203] In the men's magazine *Esquire*, advertisers featured skiers in ads that appealed to male authority and virility. Advertisements of either patriarchs giving toasts to gathered friends and servants or of men strolling ship decks thronged with beautiful women also featured pictures of struggling female skiers and flying male ski jumpers.[204] In the women's magazine *Harper's Bazaar*, the

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[198] "Brevities: Notes from New York," *The Ski Bulletin* 6, no. 2 (December 27, 1935), 7.
[199] "Saks Fifth Avenue Ski Headquarters Announce the Second Opening of the Famous Indoor Ski Slide," *New York Times*, 8 November 1936, ProQuest.
[200] "Saks Fifth Avenue Ski Headquarters Announce the Second Opening of the Famous Indoor Ski Slide," *New York Times*, 8 November 1936, ProQuest.
[201] "Saks Fifth Avenue Ski Shop and Ski Room," *New York Times,* 20 November 1936, ProQuest.
[202] Eugene Du Bois, "New York Thinks It Can Ski," *American Ski Annual*, 1936, 39.
[203] Du Bois, "New York Thinks It Can Ski," 40.
[204] "Any Place, Any Time, Gruen is the Ideal Gift," advertisement, *Esquire*, December 1936, 47; "The Gift That Brings the World Home in Movies," advertisement, *Esquire*, December 1936, 129.

manufacturers of Ski-O-Twill ski fabric reinforced the class associations of skiing for women by beginning their ad as follows: "Time to put away the golf clubs and to unwrap the skis."[205]

A Hollywood Opening for Sun Valley

Sun Valley's advertisements and marketing ploys reinforced the association of skiing with elite glamour and wealth. To further solidify this image, the Union Pacific arranged for Hollywood actors to attend the resort's opening. In late October, Schaffgotsch paid visits to producers David Selznick, Samuel Goldwyn, and Lewis Milestone as well as the actor Gary Cooper and his wife Miriam.[206] Selznick was receptive to Schaffgotsch's sales pitch and requested that the best suites be reserved for his entourage. In addition, Selznick offered to drum up publicity for Sun Valley if a special train could be arranged to bring Hollywood guests directly from L.A. to Sun Valley. With most of the nationally known easterners not arriving until after the New Year, Harriman hardly balked at the idea of arranging a special train that assured the attendance of famous guests at the resort's opening.[207] By mid-December the Union Pacific had arranged for the train, which promised Hollywood guests a quick 27-hour train ride to Sun Valley.[208]

The success of Sun Valley's marketing campaign could be measured by its grand opening, an event that occurred without a trace of snow at the resort. On average, by mid-December, residents of the Wood River Valley would have witnessed the accumulation of roughly fifteen inches of snowfall since the beginning of October. In December 1936, however, winter storms had deposited a record-low one inch, which was twenty-one inches fewer than the previous year.[209] To guard against guest disappointment and discontent at the lack of snow, Harriman decided to inform prospective opening-day guests that they would have free room and board until the snow fell.[210] The promise seemed to work, for with no snow on the ground, Sun Valley still hosted 150 people at its opening dinner on December 21.[211] Banquet guests were treated to a French menu that included Brioche au Caviar, Supreme of Sole au Champagne, and Tournedos Sauté Chatelaine.[212] With the help of Salt Lake City radio station KSL, part of the evening's festivities were broadcast live from 11:00-11:30 P.M. via a 50,000 watt station capable of reaching listeners in Omaha, Nebraska.[213] It was clear that the opening festivities were intended for the society pages, not the sports columns. Such had been the anticipation just days

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205 "New Ski Fabric," advertisement, *Harper's Bazaar*, November 1936, 16.

206 W. Averell Harriman to Felix Schaffgotsch, 29 October 1936, "Schaffgotsch, Felix," Box 740, WAH.

207 W. Averell Harriman to Carl Gray, 14 November 1936, "Union Pacific Railroad Miscellaneous," Box 742, WAH.

208 William Jeffers to Carl R. Gray, 12 December 1936, "Union Pacific Railroad Miscellaneous," Box 742, WAH.

209 "Late Snowfall Sets Record in Hailey Region," *Salt Lake Tribune*, 12 December 1936.

210 W. Averell Harriman to J.E.P. Morgan, 16 December 1936, "Union Pacific Railroad Miscellaneous," Box 742, WAH.

211 William M. Jeffers to W. Averell Harriman, 21 December 1936, "Union Pacific RR Misc," Box 742, WAH.

212 Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 45.

213 W. M. Jeffers to Heads of Departments, telegram, 21 December 1936, Union Pacific Files, The Community Library.

before the resort's opening when the *New York Herald Tribune* mused about the importance of Sun Valley, saying, "Doubtless Idaho will soon be included on Society's annual circuit, and the woods will be full of Vanderbilts, Astors, Belmonts, Goulds and What-nots."[214] The society pages were only too happy, then, to report that the opening festivities featured a scuffle between movie producer David O. Selznick and Chicago investment banker Charles F. Gore over Gore's inappropriate advances toward Claudette Colbert.[215]

Although there was no snow atop the lively Sun Valley Lodge during the opening weekend, skiing did, in fact, take place. Skiers were transported by bus twelve miles up the Wood River Valley to Galena summit, where Schaffgotsch oversaw skiing activities.[216] Because of the absence of snow around the lodge, Sun Valley administrators endured criticism that Sun Valley was the "Ketchum Con."[217] Tension abated somewhat on December 27, when five inches of snow fell, providing guests, finally, with the promised white vistas out their windows. Nearly a half-foot of snow, however, was not enough to cover the sagebrush, which provided formidable obstacles for beginning skiers.[218] Many guests, though, enrolled in the ski school while others took dog-sled and sleigh rides across the newly fallen snow.[219] Sun Valley would not truly elude the indictment as the "Ketchum Con" until January 9 when appreciable snow finally fell.[220]

Recreation Consumer and the Perception of Sun Valley

If one were to believe the national media, by January 1937 the Union Pacific had successfully corralled the national excitement for skiing, creating America's premier ski center. As newspaper stories proclaimed, the resort was so appealing that Hollywood A-listers had left Los Angeles's sunny beaches for Idaho's snowy mountains. Hannagan had certainly captured the interest of spectators and leisure tourists. Attracting the athletic adventurous skiers, though, required a different set of marketing ploys. Skiers were interested in the terrain, the amount of snow, and the reliability of the skiing experience.

To market its resort to skiers, Sun Valley officials arranged for the acclaimed downhill skier Charles Proctor to pen articles about Sun Valley for both the *American Ski Annual* and *Appalachia*.[221] As someone who had skied in both Europe and throughout the East Coast, Proctor lent credibility to Sun Valley when he described it as a place for skiers of all abilities and interests. Proctor began his articles by noting that Sun Valley had snow from December through the middle of April and that it had "every conceivable kind of skiing terrain."[222] The resort also promised modern conveniences such as the world's first chairlifts, which negated the arduous uphill climbs to which most skiers were accustomed. For experienced skiers, the chairlift accessing the top of Proctor Mountain, which was named after the article's author, provided a

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214 *New York Herald Tribune*, n.d. in Holland, *Sun Valley*, 206.
215 *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 7 January 1937; *Washington Post*, 7 January 1937.
216 Holland, *Sun Valley*, 215.
217 Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley*, 87.
218 Oppenheimer, *Sun Valley*, 94.
219 J.E.P. Morgan to W. Averell Harriman, 28 December 1936, "John E.P. Morgan," Box 739, WAH.
220 Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 46.
221 Charles N. Proctor, "Sun Valley," *American Ski Annual*, 1936, 154-156.; Charles N. Proctor, "Skiing Development in Sun Valley, Idaho," *Appalachia*, December 1936, 195-198.
222 Proctor, "Sun Valley," *American Ski Annual*, 155.

descent of 1,150 feet. One could also climb higher from the top chairlift station and gain an additional 1,000 feet of vertical.[223] Beginner skiers had the option of taking the chairlift up 650 feet to the top of Dollar Mountain, which Proctor promised provided a "perfect practice playground" for someone learning the sport.[224] Novice skiers would also have access to the ski school run by professional European ski instructors like Hans Hauser and his staff of fellow Austrians.

Proctor was aware that not all skiers desired chairlift access and trampled ski runs, some skiers were more akin to mountaineers, vigorous outdoors people who lived by their wits, eschewing chairlifts and other modern contraptions for the thrill of relying on their bodies and minds to overcome natural obstacles. For these skiers, Proctor depicted the skiing terrain as a slice of the pre-modern West, a place that had not been framed for the tourist and looked much as it had for fur trappers, pioneers, and Indians. "The mountains extend in all directions from Sun Valley with practically no timber thick enough to spoil the slopes for skiing," wrote Proctor, who continued, "It is all perfect ski terrain but hardly any of it has ever been skied over!"[225] Skiers could hike Bald Mountain, at over 9,200 feet, or travel north to scale the Boulder Peaks.[226]

Despite Proctor's glowing account, many skiers were uncertain of what to expect. Sun Valley officials learned of the resort's poor reputation among skiers when John Morgan traveled to the Northwest following the resort's opening. Aside from participating in the creation of Sun Valley, Morgan was one of the New York Ski Club's governors and a former administrator of the 1932 Lake Placid Olympics. He was a true devotee of downhill skiing, who, along with Alex Bright, had lobbied the National Ski Association in 1932 to recognize downhill events.[227] As Morgan toured the Northwest to promote Sun Valley, he discovered that people were dubious of the resort's ski conditions. While visiting Seattle, Morgan noted that "people in this section are skiers and they want to know and will always want to know exactly how much snow there is on the ground and whether or not the skiing is really good or just in a few places."[228] These concerns were not all that bothered skiers. Morgan also wrote that people felt uncertain of whether they could find any affordable lodging if they could even reach Sun Valley.[229] Though simple, these questions got at the heart of what skiing was in the 1930s. Abundant snow over a variety of terrain allowed one to experience the real pleasure of skiing: going fast, so fast one felt like he was flying.[230] Based on the information he gathered, Morgan alerted Harriman that Sun Valley had not done enough to promote its scenery and skiing terrain.[231]

Fortunately for Sun Valley, Proctor's glowing description lured a number of mountain club members to Idaho to inspect the Union Pacific's claims for themselves. Gretel Arndt of the Colorado Mountain Club (CMC) wrote that "Reams of publicity did its work on an enthusiastic

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223 Proctor, "Skiing Development," 196.
224 Ibid., 197.
225 Proctor, "Sun Valley," 156.
226 Ibid., 155.
227 Holland, *Sun Valley*, 186.
228 J.E.P. Morgan to W. Averell Harriman, 28 January 1937, "J.E.P. Morgan," Box 739, W. Averell Harriman Papers, Library of Congress.
229 Morgan to WAH, January 28, 1937, WAH.
230 Gallico, *Reader's Digest*
231 John E.P. Morgan to W. Averell Harriman, 28 January 1937, "J.E.P. Morgan," Box 739, W. Averell Harriman Papers.

group of Denver skiers" who visited Sun Valley soon after the resort's opening.[232] The anticipation among the CMC skiers was so great that they exploded from the doors of the bus to inspect the chairlifts and snow quality, both of which they found "not at all over-advertised."[233] Reports in the June 1937 edition of *Appalachia* illustrated how East Coast skiers viewed the resort. According to Robert Underhill, Sun Valley, indeed, had abundant sunshine and little wind. Underhill complained, though, that too much sun actually made the snow heavy and wet.[234] Underhill also criticized the chairlift-accessed slopes that only offered between 500 and 1,000 vertical feet, and thus were "merely glorified practice slopes." The best terrain, as Proctor had promised, was five to twenty miles north of the hotel where one could find runs of up to 2,000 vertical feet. One needed a car to reach these places. Unfortunately for skiers, vehicle rentals were exorbitant.[235] Thomas Cabot, commenting upon Sun Valley's comparisons with European resorts, noted that even if one climbed higher to get a longer run, the slide downhill did not compare to runs in Europe such as the Parsenn in Davos, the Männlicher in Mürren, and the Patscherkofl near Innsbruck.[236]

Sun Valley and Entertainment Tourism

Nearly all descriptions of Sun Valley treated the resort as if it was an isolated village in the middle of Idaho. Journalists ignored the fact that the resort sat no more than a mile from downtown Ketchum, a town that was established in the early 1880s following a flourishing of mining activity in the Wood River Valley.[237] The omission seemed by design as Sun Valley had no interest in linking itself to Ketchum in any way. When Carl Brandt offered to sell his hot springs and motel in Ketchum to the Union Pacific, W.M. Jeffers responded that "it would be a mistake for the Union Pacific to make any investment in the City of Ketchum."[238] Harriman also agreed with Jeffers.[239] To Harriman, Ketchum and its environs were his blank canvas. He had little interest in anything local. When John H. Baker of the National Association of Audubon Societies suggested to Harriman that Sun Valley offer public lectures and slideshows about local bird life, Harriman responded that "the area around Sun Valley is a forest reserve, not a National Park" and that "People come to Sun Valley to have a good time, not to be educated."[240] Unlike the development of Kitzbühel, which had been a community endeavor, Sun Valley was typical of most tourist development in the West. It was a place that showed little regard for the past and instead manufactured its own cultural legacy. In this way, it was very similar to the National Parks, which often ignored or altered the history of American Indians in the parks.[241] Historian Hal Rothman has referred to this type of tourism as entertainment tourism as it was predicated on

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232 Gretel Arndt, "Ketchum Kaleidoscope," *Trail and Timberline*, no. 221, March 1937, 31.
233 Arndt, "Ketchum Kaleidoscope," 31.
234 Robert L.M. Underhill, "Sun Valley, Ketchum, Idaho," *Appalachia*, June 1937, 431.
235 Underhill, "Sun Valley," 432.
236 Thomas D.Cabot, "Sun Valley, Ketchum, Idaho," *Appalachia*, June 1937, 431.
237 Holland, *Sun Valley*, 63-4, 67.
238 W. M. Jeffers to W. Averell Harriman, November 17, 1939, Box 739, WAH.
239 W. Averell Harriman to W. M. Jeffers, November 21, 1939, Box 739, WAH.
240 Harriman made these comments in a letter to John Morgan. W. Averell Harriman to John Morgan, , June 2, 1937, Box 739.
241 For a fascinating study of how the National Parks erased American Indians from their parks, see Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness*.

fabricating a place. Disneyland and Las Vegas are the epitome of this type of tourism. Although on a smaller scale, Sun Valley certainly fits within this discussion as well.

The construction of the Challenger Inn in 1937 epitomized the Union Pacific's commitment to entertainment tourism. As opposed to the original Sun Valley Lodge, which was designed by Gilbert Stanley Underwood, the architect of both Yosemite's Ahwahnee Lodge and Bryce Canyon Lodge, the new lodge was intended to depart from the western rustic look. Plans for a new lodge began before the end of the first year of operations when Harriman called for a dormitory-style building designed to look like an Austrian mountain inn.[242] To accomplish this task, Harriman originally turned to Underwood, whose designs Harriman allegedly thought were more suitable for a recreation of a city like Innsbruck rather than a village like St. Anton.[243] Rather than selecting a new architect, Harriman asked Ernst Fegte, a Hollywood set designer to come up with some conceptual drawings.[244] Fegte, at the time, was working just north of Sun Valley on the movie set for Wesley Ruggles's *I Met Him in Paris*, a movie about the adventures of a young, single American woman in Paris and Switzerland. For the Swiss scenes, Fegte had designed a Swiss hotel and church steeple.[245]

Fegte's design for the Challenger drew considerably from his movie set design. Like a good set designer, Fegte's hotel was not what it seemed. Although one contiguous building, the hotel appeared like a small village due to the varying roof and façade designs. A member of the Colorado Mountaineering Club described the inn as a "picturesque 'Pseudo-Swiss, neo-Austrian, quasi-Bavarian village."[246] European on the outside, the inn was decidedly American on the inside as it featured a bowling alley, a game room, a beauty parlor, and a 500-seat movie theater. Surrounding the lodge were an outdoor pool, tennis courts, stables, and sled runs. Most importantly, though, the Inn, at $4 per day, was $6 cheaper than the nightly fare at the Lodge.[247] Rather than anointing the lodge with a German name, the Union Pacific named the lodge the Challenger after the company's new, streamlined trains that offered affordable reclining seats and low-priced meals that, for the first time, allowed the majority of train riders to eat on the train rather than at the stations.[248] It was hoped Americans would automatically associate the Challenger with affordability.

During the 1937-38 winter, the Challenger Inn featured prominently in Sun Valley's marketing, which now highlighted not only the affordability of a Sun Valley vacation but also emphasized its similarity to other resorts. Advertisements promised that one could "enjoy a Sun Valley vacation at costs surprisingly low."[249] Rather than the Tarzan-like image of Sun Valley's first ad, these ads were more typical of ski center advertisements because they were dotted with small drawings of men skiing. One ad featured a graphic of a skier with a number on his chest, alluding to the ski races held at Sun Valley. Another featured a downhill skier in billowing wool

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[242] Holland, *Sun Valley*, 230.
[243] Ernst Fegte to Bill Janss, 26 March 1974, Ms. 373, The Community Library.
[244] Ernst Fegte to Bill Janss, 26 March 1974, Ms. 373, The Community Library.
[245] Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 50; Holland, *Sun Valley*, 230.
[246] "Echoes from Sun Valley," *Trail and Timberline*, March 1938, 28.
[247] Holland, *Sun Valley*, 230.
[248] Klein, *Union Pacific*, 314. For information about the accommodations on the Challenger trains, see Averell Harriman, interview by Deanne Thompson, August 10, 1983, transcript, Regional History Department, The Community Library, Ketchum, Idaho, 10, 38-9.
[249] "Sun Valley," advertisement, *Fortune*, January 1938, 30.

pants, a narrow-waisted ski jacket, and a Tyrolean-style hat that looked like it had been copied from the fashion pages of *Esquire*. The ads also downplayed the contrast of sun and snow, promising skiing "under perfect conditions" rather than under a summer sun. One ad even enticed skiers with the promise of being entertained during the holidays by an Intercollegiate Ski Meet featuring skiers from Dartmouth College and the University of Washington.[250] Such advertisements suggested that Sun Valley was a place for the daring, adventurous skiers and not simply a retreat for the idle leisure class.

Though these ads helped skiers imagine a place where they could stay at the resort, they left skiers with very little idea of what Sun Valley's skiing was actually like. Most ski centers at this time lured skiers with advertisements featuring the number, names and lengths of their trails.[251] A brochure for Yosemite, for example, included a map that depicted trails such as the Strawberry Run, which ran for 4.5 miles. Sun Valley, though, made little attempt to actually market its ski territory. The lack of ski publicity was, in fact, one of the two chief complaints about the resort that John Morgan noted during the resort's second year of operation.[252] This fact was made abundantly clear to the Union Pacific when Delphine Carpenter, the associate editor of the *Ski Bulletin*, wrote Steve Hannagan to complain about the resort's marketing tactics that placed more emphasis on pictures of pretty girls and movie stars than actual skiing conditions. Carpenter pointed out that Sun Valley could only hope to attract a skier's attention with reports of ski conditions and pictures of amateur skiers in actions as well as stories from the skier's point of view. Although the *Ski Bulletin*, the "magazine that serves the carriage trade of skiing," had sent more requests to Sun Valley than any other area for information regarding snow and weather, it had little success actually receiving an answer. Carpenter alerted the U.P. that readers of the *Ski Bulletin* judged the quality of a ski area by its snow report. Only those resorts with four or more inches of snow received mention. Since Sun Valley never provided figures, Carpenter and many others were convinced that skiing was a failure at Sun Valley.[253]

Complaints by Morgan and Carpenter as well as the enormous popularity of the Challenger Inn forced Sun Valley officials to realize that the tourists who could be counted on to travel vast distances to slide down snowy slopes were not wealthy. At the end of the 1937-38 season, Harriman noted that there were "manifold the potential guests for the cheaper hotel than for the expensive."[254] So popular was the Challenger, in fact, that former lodge guests wrote Sun Valley officials to express their fears that the resort's original hotel, the reputable Sun Valley lodge would lose its status and class as it became a "dumping grounds for excursions, for tourists, for the cheaper middle class and common people."[255] Preserving the Lodge's class, though, meant preserving a largely empty building that Harriman himself noted was "relatively isolated" and had a "colder atmosphere." The Challenger, on the other hand, was "cheerful and sociable."[256]

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[250] *New York Times*, December 5, 1937.
[251] Eastern Slope Inn, Peckett's-at-Sugar-Hill, and Yosemite advertisements and brochures. Box 737, WAH.
[252] John Morgan to W. Averell Harriman, April 28, 1938, WAH.
[253] Dlphine Carpenter to Steve Hannagan, December 13, 1938, Box 741, WAH.
[254] W. Averrell Harriman to W.M. Jeffers, March 2, 1938. WAH
[255] John R. Todd to Kenneth M. Singer, September 29, 1938, Box 739, WAH.
[256] W. Averell Harriman, memorandum, March 15, 1939, Box 737, WAH.

The Challenger's success marked a shift in Sun Valley's priorities as it began to design its resort more for skiers and outdoor clubs than for leisure tourists. After reviewing the script for a movie about Sun Valley's ski terrain, Harriman rejected the dialogue, saying it would be found laughable by skiers, the movie's intended audience.[257] That same summer, John Morgan wrote to Harriman about how to market a Sun Valley vacation as affordable to skiers. Morgan felt that a two-week vacation, which cost $250, would be more palatable if it were divided into a commodity skiers could appreciate: miles of trail. By Morgan's calculations, a skier could accumulate roughly 100 miles of skiing during a two-week stay, making each mile worth $2.50.[258] Later that month, Sun Valley officials proposed speeding up two of its chairlifts to accommodate regional skiers from Utah and Idaho.[259] Sun Valley was beginning to realize that it could offer access to the indescribable experience of skiing, and this access was what would maintain the resort's popularity.

Sun Valley and the Federal Government

Sun Valley's embrace of less-wealthy skiers was an indication of the growing skiing market in the country by 1937. Much of this development resulted from the efforts of the Forest Service, which bowed to pressure from recreation groups to realize the potential of the national forests as playgrounds. In Colorado, Allan S. Peck, the regional forester, instructed Graeme MacGowan to survey the ski territory and locate areas for future trail development.[260] In cooperation with the Colorado Winter Sports Council, the Forest Service later cleared trails at Berthoud Pass and also installed a tow that transported skiers 500 to 600 feet up a nearby peak.[261] These developments were repeated to greater and lesser degrees throughout the mountainous areas of the United States as the Forest Service responded to increasing numbers of winter visitors who during the 1936-37 winter logged nearly one million visits.[262]

Although Sun Valley tried to distance itself from the typical ski areas, in many ways, it was no different as it relied considerably on the federal government to develop it is facilities. One individual, in particular, symbolized the cooperation between the Forest Service and Sun Valley. Norwegian Alf Engen spent the 1930s employed by Sun Valley, the Forest Service, and the CCC. Engen had immigrated to the United States in 1929 at age 19 with hopes of cashing in on the American dream and returning to Norway a rich man.[263] Although an accomplished skier in Norway, he arrived in the United States unaware of whether it actually snowed in the United States.[264] While playing club soccer for a traveling team in Chicago, Engen learned of a ski jumping competition in Wisconsin, which he entered and won, thus initiating his American ski jumping career.[265] In 1934, Engen received American citizenship and took a job as a foreman for the CCC, for which he developed ski facilities in Utah. When Felix Schaffgotsch had first visited

[257] W. Averell Harriman to E. C. Schmidt, June 28, 1938, WAH.
[258] John Morgan to W. Averell Harriman, August 4, 1938, WAH.
[259] W. M. Jeffers to W. Averell Harriman, telegram, August 16, 1938, WAH.
[260] Frank Ashley, "Colorado Skiing," *American Ski Annual* (1936), 112.
[261] John Morgan to Ken Singer, January 25, 1937, Box 739, WAH.
[262] Robert S. Monahan, "Skiing in the National Forests," *American Ski Annual* (1938), 125.
[263] Alf and Evelyn Engen, interview by Ginger Piotter, February 5, 1986, OH-304, transcript, Regional History Department, The Community Library, Ketchum, ID, 3.
[264] Engen interview, 2-3, 5.
[265] Engen interview, 6-8.

Utah, it was Engen showed him around. Then, when news of Sun Valley's development filtered down to Utah, Engen was sent to Ketchum to inspect the area.[266] By 1937, Sun Valley had hired Engen as a sports consultant, although his primary job was to compete at various ski competitions as a member of the Sun Valley Ski Club.[267] Engen thus became a marketing tool for Sun Valley at the same time that he worked as the "Forest Service ski expert and planner."[268]

Initially, Engen's two positions for the Forest Service and Sun Valley failed to intersect. Sun Valley, after all, had developed its initial trails on treeless hillsides on private land. To maintain relevance, though, Sun Valley needed a more predictable ski experience. The problems that Sun Valley encountered its first winter with poor snow conditions continued to plague the resort. The Union Pacific wanted its resort to be functional from December to May, but the hills nearest the resort were the last to receive appreciable snow and the first to lose it.[269] Well before the resort opened, the Union Pacific was busy trying to locate ski areas that would allow a long ski season. John Morgan and Charles Proctor scouted Galena Summit and Baker Creek for suitable ski hills.[270] Ski instructor Friedl Pfeiffer also pointed out that Sun Valley's slopes were too low in elevation to permit reliable ski conditions.[271] Pfeiffer recognized that the best skiing in the area was on Bald Mountain, Forest Service land a little over a mile from the resort compared to Galena Summit, which was twelve miles away.[272] This mountain, though, was not only heavily wooded, it was part of a National Forest.[273]

Sun Valley's interest in Bald Mountain, or Baldy, as a ski area appealed to a Forest Service that was already busily developing winter recreation areas throughout the country. Sun Valley and the Forest Service, however, did not initially agree on the aesthetics of resort construction. In developing winter sports facilities, the Forest Service, initially, was very careful to preserve a natural look to its developments. To this end, the Forest Service simply tried to build trails and provide for basic shelter such as lean-tos. For skiers who ventured deep into the mountains, the service built cabins equipped with stoves, fireplaces, and beds.[274] As for lifts, the Forest Service only permitted the use rope tows. Chairlifts and aerial tramways were banned because they were both too conspicuous and not removable during the summer.[275]

When Sun Valley showed interest in developing ski runs on Baldy, the

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[266] Engen interview, 8-9.
[267] Engen interview, 12, 18.
[268] F. C. Koziol, "Snow Basin," *American Ski Annual* (1942), 189.
[269] Rogers notes that the resort needs five more inches of snow before skiing will be possible on Proctor and Dollar mountains. W.P. Rogers to W. Averell Harriman, December 16, 1938, Box 740, WAH.
[270] Charles and Mary Proctor, interview by John Huckins, September 14, 1984, OH-281, transcript, Regional History Department, The Community Library, Ketchum, ID, 5; J.E.P. Morgan to John, April 26, 1936, Box 739, WAH.
[271] Friedl Pfeifer and Morten Lund, *Nice Goin': My Life on Skis* (Missoula, Montana: Pictorial Histories Publishing Company, Inc., 1993), 68.
[272] Pfeifer, *Nice Goin'*, 74.
[273] Proctor interview, 6.
[274] Monahan, "Skiing in the National Forests," 129.
[275] Monahan, "Skiing in the National Forests," 129.

Forest Service proved a willing partner. After all, the Forest Service had been openly advocating partnerships with commercial resorts since 1934.[276] To aid Sun Valley's development, the Forest Service in 1937 sold Sun Valley a "snow motor." Designed by the Forest Service in Portland, Oregon, the "snow motor" was essentially an early version of a modern snow cat that operated like a tank as it crawled up slopes of nearly 40 degrees while towing a sled that fit twenty-five people.[277] The Forest Service not only designed the snow tank, but, once the proper easements over private and public land were secured, it also cut the roadways that permitted the vehicle to move uphill.[278] With the snow tank, Sun Valley could offer skiing even when there was no snow on its private hillsides on Dollar and Proctor Mountains.

During the next two winters, the federal government continued to work with Sun Valley in developing the recreational potential of the forest. In fall of both 1938 and 1939, the government, through the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Progress Administration, helped clear ski runs on Baldy. At one point Sun Valley had twenty-three men working the upper part of the mountain while, at the bottom, the CCC had eighteen and yet another federal organization had eleven.[279] Alf Engen, in his capacity as a Forest Service employee, willingly cooperated with Sun Valley in marking trees to remove. In January 1939, as poor snow conditions forced Sun Valley guests to travel to Baker Creek to ski, Engen and Schaffgotsch as well as ski school director Friedl Pfeiffer and noted ski racer Dick Durance selected trees for removal on Baldy.[280]

New ski trails certainly opened up new possibilities for skiing, but the trails did not help Sun Valley overcome the problems with the weather or lack of ski lifts. In the early and late season, skiers might be able to ski on Baldy, but they would have to hike up dirt trails to reach the snowfields above. Harriman realized that a lift would greatly enhance the Baldy trails. In a letter to Schaffgotsch in fall 1938, Harriman noted that Sun Valley was contemplating a 3-part chairlift on Bald Mountain.[281] A few months later Harriman suggested to William Jeffers that the U.P. think about building a chairlift part way up the mountain and then install an aerial tram to the mountain top.[282] After careful consideration, Harriman decided on something "quite radical and new" by creating a chairlift in three sections.[283] The new lift allowed the resort to promote a larger patronage of the mountain as skiers would be able to choose which part they wanted to ski.

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[276] United States Forest Service, Region Nine, "Forest Recreation Handbook," [Washington, D.C., 1934], 14.
[277] Enclosure with correspondence between B. H. Prater and W. Averell Harriman, 4 October 1937, Box 736, WAH.
[278] W. Averell Harriman to Frank S. Moore, 17 November 1937, WAH, Box 736. For a description of the various easements, see L. Castagneto to B. H. Prater, October 4, 1937, Box 736, WAH.
[279] WPR to William Jeffers, 4 October 1938, WAH, Box 733; Letter to W.M. Jeffers, 17 October 1938, WAH, Box 733; W. Averell Harriman to Felix Schaffgotsch, August 1, 1938, WAH, Box 733.
[280] W. P. Rogers to W. A[verell] H[arriman], 2 Jan 1939, telegram, Union Pacific Files, MS. 694, KCL. For reference to travel to Baker Creek, see WAH to W.M. Jeffers, 2 January 1939, Union Pacific Files, MS. 694, Community Library.
[281] W. A[verell] H[arriman] to Felix [Schaffgotsch], 1 August 1938, WAH, Box 733.
[282] WAH to W.M. Jeffers, January 2, 1939, Union Pacific Files, MS. 694, KCL.
[283] Averell [Harriman] to Count Felix Schaffgotsch, August 1, 1939, Box 733, WAH.

The difficult part was gaining legal authority to build the chairlifts. Union Pacific officials could not find anything in the law that gave the Secretary of the Interior the right to grant a ski lift permit. The legal department of the Interior Department was similarly perplexed. Working together, the Department of the Interior and the Union Pacific drafted a letter that granted the Union Pacific a permit to construct the lift.[284]

The chairlifts on Baldy Mountain gave Sun Valley a control over the environment. The lift was built in three sections to allow skiers to ski either a section or the entire mountain depending on their abilities.[285] Like the early ski trains that picked the best weekly destination for passengers, Sun Valley and the Union Pacific could now direct guests to specific parts of Baldy Mountain where skiing conditions were best. It was envisioned that one could use just the top lift both early and late in the season, thus lengthening the ski season and guaranteeing good ski conditions throughout early and late in the winter, when snow would not be present at lower elevations. The Baldy chairlifts, then, made Sun Valley a more predictable place to visit. One could be assured that skiing would be possible early and late in the season. The resort was the closest a skier would get to a sure thing before the advent of snow making machines.

Sun Valley as an Amusement Park

Although the national press emphasized that Sun Valley was like a country club full of "film stars, debutantes, not too tired businessmen and any winter sports lover who belongs to the ten-dollars-a-day-and-up class," the reality was that the resort was like many of the emerging resorts in the country.[286] It was a ski resort made possible by the Forest Service, which had made recreation, like timber, water, and wildlife, a product of the National Forests.

Developments at Sun Valley moved American skiing away from its alpine roots and its association with adventure and toward the realm of amusing recreations like ice skating and tobogganing. The 1941 visit of famed skier Arnold Lunn made this development all too evident. Lunn wrote that "Sun Valley compares favourably with the more popular Alpine centres, so far as snow conditions and terrain are concerned." He noted that the scenery was like that in Gstaad, Austria. At Sun Valley, though, skis were more like toboggans and the trails were like iced tracks. Although Baldy offered "six superb runs," Lunn complained that Sun Valley suffered from the "downhill-only disease" as skiers were not encouraged to see their skis as a "passport to untracked snow and unexplored slopes."[287] Instead, skiers and forbidden to explore the mountain and required to stay on the trails. Such policies created what Lunn called "Cresta Skiers" who went down the same track continuously like tobogganers on the Cresta Run in St. Moritz.[288]

Sun Valley began to look more like an amusement park. It was a place that had little meaningful connection to the local landscape. The resort continued to calibrate its image as it grew. In 1939, Sun Valley officials began tossing around names for a series of new villas. Proposed names initially included references to Europe such as Tyrol and Edelweiss but also references to local Indian tribes (Chinook), American colleges (Dartmouth), and American

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[284] J. L. Haugh to W[illiam] M. J[effers], August 22, 1939, telegram, Box 733, WAH.
[285] W. Averell Harriman to Felix Schaffgotsch, August 1, 1939, WAH.
[286] Ivan Dmitri, "The Valley of Sun and Snow," *Saturday Evening Post*, (December 31, 1938): 34.
[287] Arnold Lunn, "American Memorie," *American Ski Annual* (1942), 37.
[288] Arnold Lunn, *Mountain Jubilee* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1943), 25.

mountain ranges (Sierra).[289] Once again, any reference to the immediate environment was ignored. Within weeks, though, almost all of these names were abandoned for ones that "were native to Idaho rather than to Europe." Surviving correspondence does not offer any clear reasons why the European names were abandoned, but it was likely the outbreak of World War II that was on the mind of U.P. officials. Officially, though, the reason given was that it was the "general consensus of the interested chalet-name contributors that the names of the new chalets would receive wider guest approval."[290] Rather than selecting the name Shoshone after a local Indian tribe or Big Smokey, the name of a nearby mountain range, Harriman proposed that the names of indigenous Idaho trees were most appealing. By naming the chalets pine, cedar, spruce, and balsam, however, Harriman ensured that the chalets were not too closely connected with any local history.[291] Like an amusement park, Sun Valley was intended to entertain and not educate. It was a place that would stand outside history and politics.

The Sun Valley that was in place by 1940 looked much different than the resort that had been created four years earlier. No longer was Sun Valley simply an elite retreat. College students replaced European staff and well-healed guests were lost in a crowd of middle class skiers. Despite these changes, Sun Valley remained a place apart. With workers brought from Europe and various eastern colleges, Sun Valley had few ties to Ketchum and the surrounding area. The resort acted as if it had found a virgin landscape in the unsettled West and shaped it like farmers on the Great Plains. Like pioneers before them, resort officials had learned to manipulate the environment as much as they had controlled the resort's image. Innovative chairlifts had overcome irregularity in snowfall, guaranteeing skiing for all skill levels. Like the department-store ski slides, Sun Valley by 1940 offered skiers access to controlled hillsides and ensured that they would be able to execute certain aerobic movements on a titled plane. Such an experience was a far cry from the excitement of downhill skiing first promoted by the ski trains. A ski train trip had been an adventure as skiers were rarely familiar with the hillsides of their destination. A visit to Sun Valley, on the other hand, was predictable, safe, and replicable.

289 B. H. Prater to W. A. Harriman, October 4, 1939, Box 733, WAH.
290 C. J. Collins to W. A. Harriman, October 19, 1939, Box 733, WAH.
291 W. A. Harriman to W. P. Rogers, October 26, 1939, Box 733, WAH.

Conclusion

In 1980, Dorice Taylor, the former director of the Sun Valley publicity office, reflected about the history Sun Valley, noting that "In spite of its celebrities, Sun Valley was first and foremost a ski resort. Over the years ski writers and other resorts have tried to give it the reputation of a place where people dress in spectacular ski clothes and walk around. It has never been that—you ski or you are out of it."[1] Taylor's refutation that Sun Valley was simply a place of conspicuous consumption was indicative of the notions held about skiing. Since its earliest days, skiers had envisioned that the sport was a way of escaping the mentality and pace of modern urban life. What they failed to acknowledge was that skiing was another form of consumption. People came to Sun Valley to buy not only ski gear but also experiences on the mountain. Ski resorts were far more than simply leisure destinations. As this dissertation has argued, in a period of growing nationalism and imperial rivalry, winter resorts were institutions where individuals used sports to strengthen themselves and their nations. Only with the invention of chairlifts, which reduced the physical exertion of skiing, did resorts become the citadels of consumption about which Dorice Taylor complained.

Dorice Taylor's own recollection about her arrival in Sun Valley reinforces the connection between consumption and alpine resorts. Although the Sun Valley publicist remembered the resort as a small town oriented around skiing, images of snow and skiers had figured very little into her own decision to visit Idaho. Taylor had been drawn to Sun Valley by a newspaper advertisement that promised a ride to the resort aboard *The City of Los Angeles*, a new streamlined train that combined modern technology with Gilded Age charm by featuring a bar car with red velvet curtains and a bartender with a large mustache. The train helped Taylor overcome her disbelief that there was actually a ski resort in the "neutral-colored blank" that she associated with the area between Chicago and California.[2] Taylor not only bought a ticket to Sun Valley but she bought into the lifestyle that the Union Pacific sold to all prospective guests and workers. She took a job in the Sun Valley publicity office where she continued the tradition that Steve Hannagan had begun by peddling images of Sun Valley for the world to consume.

Following the end of World War II, Taylor and her colleagues found themselves competing with a host of new resorts that sold recreation and social prestige to a growing number of skier tourists. Like Sun Valley, these new resorts were the creations of corporations that realized alpine snow was like gold. In Aspen, Colorado, for example, the Aspen Skiing Corporation (ASC), which was founded by former Sun Valley ski instructor Friedl Pfeifer, provided a complete facelift for the former mining town by, among other things, building a 3,000 foot chairlift, the longest in the world in 1947.[3] Resort developments became even more elaborate in 1962 when Vail Corporation replicated the Sun Valley phenomenon by transforming an empty meadow into a European-themed town and resort complete with a gondola, a $1 million lodge, and two chairlifts.[4] The resort's building code reinforced a foreign European ambience by mandating faux European architectural styles. Advertisements also sold the Rockies as the Alps. A 1968 advertisement suggested that Germans themselves traveled all the

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[1] Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 155.
[2] Ibid., 56.
[3] Coleman, *Ski Style*, 121; Allen, *Romance of Commerce,* 143.
[4] Rothman, *Devil's Bargains*, 231.

way to Colorado to ski. In large gothic print the add wrote, “Wohin ist Europa gegangen? Für den Winter—nach Vail” (Where has Europe gone? To Vail, for the winter).[5] By using such strategies, American corporations successfully eschewed any connection with local communities. Aside from partnering with the Forest Service for its ski slopes, Vail had little interaction with its fellow property owners. These resorts had no history beyond what the resorts invented.

The fact that most American resorts were independent businesses meant that the even established resorts were subject to reinvention. Resort executives did not require any community meetings to alter the values or management of the American resort. Among the earliest to illustrate trend was America’s oldest destination resort—Sun Valley. Before the resort even turned thirty, the Union Pacific sold Sun Valley to the Janss Corporation. In a chapter titled “We are dumped,” Taylor bitterly described how Union Pacific management abandoned the resort because the “operation of Sun Valley has been rather remote from our business of running a railroad.”[6] Taylor realized that the sale of the resort was almost akin to the changing of a government. Under the Janss Corporation, Sun Valley resort focused less on the resort’s iconic hotels and resort village and instead concentrated on the construction of condominium suburbs that Taylor said reminded her of “barracks.”[7]

The corporate control in the U.S. resort industry stood in contrast to the community and organic model developed in Europe. Towns like Davos and Kitzbühel could not just be bought and sold. Kitzbühel, after all, had been an established town since 1271. The long history of land ownership in Europe ensured that European resorts grew more slowly and involved community input. Initially, winter resorts developed through the efforts of innkeepers. These entrepreneurs worked as middle-men who transformed their towns into accommodating winter destinations for foreign guests. In Davos, for example, British tourists had difficulty pushing through their demands and required advocates to accomplish their goals. British guests had to gain political influence to get ice rinks enlarged and new facilities built. As a result, guests were more sensitive to their interaction with locals. Although normally clannish, British guests took into account the concerns of local Swiss when the introduction of a non-traditional toboggan sled threatened to diminish Swiss participation in the town’s races. European communities were also often involved in approving building projects. When Kitzbühel built its cable car, the community pledged financial support. This partnership between tourist and local concerns prevailed throughout the much of the Alps and became the envy of many small American resorts.

For the most part, winter resorts in the United States did not grow organically in this manner. The Lake Placid Club established itself as an exclusive unit in the town of Lake Placid and only engaged with the town of Lake Placid when it prepared to stage the Olympics. Often, the club worked to separate and distinguish locals from guests. Sun Valley was little different as the Union Pacific sought to impose its vision on the community of Ketchum. Although built during the Depression, the development of the resort was not an attempt to provide jobs for unemployed miners and sheepherders. Some locals did help build the resort, but the majority of labor was brought in from outside Idaho.

Although resort development differed in Europe and America, both the popularity of skiing and the actual pace of resort development were quite similar in the postwar period. Resort construction flourished in the U.S. mainly due to the efforts of Tenth Mountain Division

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[5] Coleman, *Ski Style*, 148.
[6] Arthur Stoddard quoted in Taylor, *Sun Valley*, 245.
[7] Ibid., 249.

veterans, America's corps of skiing soldiers. As these men returned to the U.S., they brought with them dreams of opening new ski resorts. Tenth Mountain veterans were instrumental in the development and management of sixty-two resorts and their associated ski schools. By 1975, the U.S. counted 745 ski areas.[8]

Resort construction in Europe matched America's growth and exceeded it in terms of density. The Rocky Mountains, for example, are roughly four times the size of the Alps, but in 2008 they contained only 97 ski resorts compared to the Alps, which counted 1,100 from Slovenia to France.[9] These resorts were packed with hotel beds. Whereas before the war bed-nights in Switzerland had peaked at about 15,000, by the 1970s they were over 35,000. Austria saw even more growth as its bed-nights grew from a prewar level of 20,000 to 60,000 by 1963.[10] The erection of new lifts and facilities accompanied the growth in overnight stays. Switzerland, in fact, witnessed a fifteen fold increase in ski lift construction between 1950 and 1975.[11] Resort infrastructure was not all that flourished following the war. The popularity of skiing also ticked upward in popularity. In Austria, according to Rudolf Müllner, skiing competitions enjoyed considerable prestige as they became associated with national regeneration. Anton Sailer's Olympic victory in 1956 catapulted skiing into national prominence and represented a sort of rebirth for Austria.[12]

Despite the remarkable growth in the European ski industry, postwar developments still incorporated local interests. In the eastern Alps where a pastoral economy coexisted with winter tourism, small hotels and private homes provided the bulk of accommodations, which were often run by single families.[13] In regions that had been accustomed to out-migration for decades, tourism allowed locals to find work within their home communities.[14] Even local agriculture and traditional handicrafts flourished as tourists demanded food and souvenirs.[15]

The tourism boom, of course, did have its attendant down sides. Among the small Austrian towns, the selling of "white gold" caused a deterioration in community values. Surveys of locals revealed that many were upset by the competition brought about by tourism.[16] These studies validated fears that conservative politicians had expressed during the first years of tourism's growth as they showed that tourism had impacted the sense of goodwill in small communities. Residents noted that their neighbors were unwilling and reluctant to provide their labor for community road projects and similar ventures. Others complained about a "Tyrolean Kitsch" that had overshadowed and, in some cases, erased local varieties of building in Eastern

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[8] Clifford, *Downhill Slide*, 13-14.

[9] Alain J. Lazard, "French and American Resorts: Vive la difference," in Allen, *"The Spirit of Skiing*," 212-213.

[10] Tissot, "Tourism in Austria and Switzerland," 296-97.

[11] Mary L. Barker, "Traditional Landscape and Mass Tourism in the Alps," *Geographical Review* 72, no. 4 (October 1982), 400.

[12] Rudolf Müllner, "The Culture of Skiing and the Construction of Collective Identities in Post War Austria," in *"The Spirit of Skiing:" Papers from the 2009 International Ski History Congress, Mammoth California, USA*, E. John B. Allen, ed. (Skiing Heritage, 2009), 356-62.

[13] Herbert Kariel and Patricia E. Kariel, "Socio-Cultural Impacts of Tourism: An Example from the Austrian Alps," *Geografiska Annaler B* 64, no. 1 (1982), 5.

[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] Barker, "Traditional Landscape and Mass Tourism," 409.

[16] Kariel, "Socio-Cultural Impacts," 8.

Alps.[17] Villager comments about the breakdown in community values echoed complaints about the deterioration of values in American resorts. Commentators like Hal Clifford have written that the desire to sell American resorts has erased a world defined “by snow and a shared sense of specialness.”[18] These commentators, ironically, have looked to Europe as a model of sustainable growth.

Whether corporate or organic in the origins, American and European resorts have altered the ways people view winter alpine landscapes. They have bound them to notions of health and adventure that emerged when the European upper classes first explored the Alps in search of landscapes free from the ravages of the city. In promoting Muscular Christianity, the British showed Europeans that sports could be about more than recreation, they could signify a person’s potential for bravery and thus his utility in imperial conquest. Not everyone that skied saw him or herself involved in some national pursuit, but skiing could not escape its associations with health and national vitality. It is fitting, then, that Russia would be slated to hold the next winter Olympics in 2014. A country that seeks to reclaim its former glory has created, from scratch, the resort of Sochi, where Russians will demonstrate their strength and show their own vitality. Once the games are over, developers image that Sochi, like so many other resorts, will become “the core of a new town.”[19]

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[17] Ibid., 10-12.

[18] Clifford, *Sliding Downhill*, 91.

[19] Maria Vassileva, “Sochi: Summer Resort to Host 2014 Winter Olympics,” *BBC News*, March 1, 2010. http//news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/business/8542896.stm

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